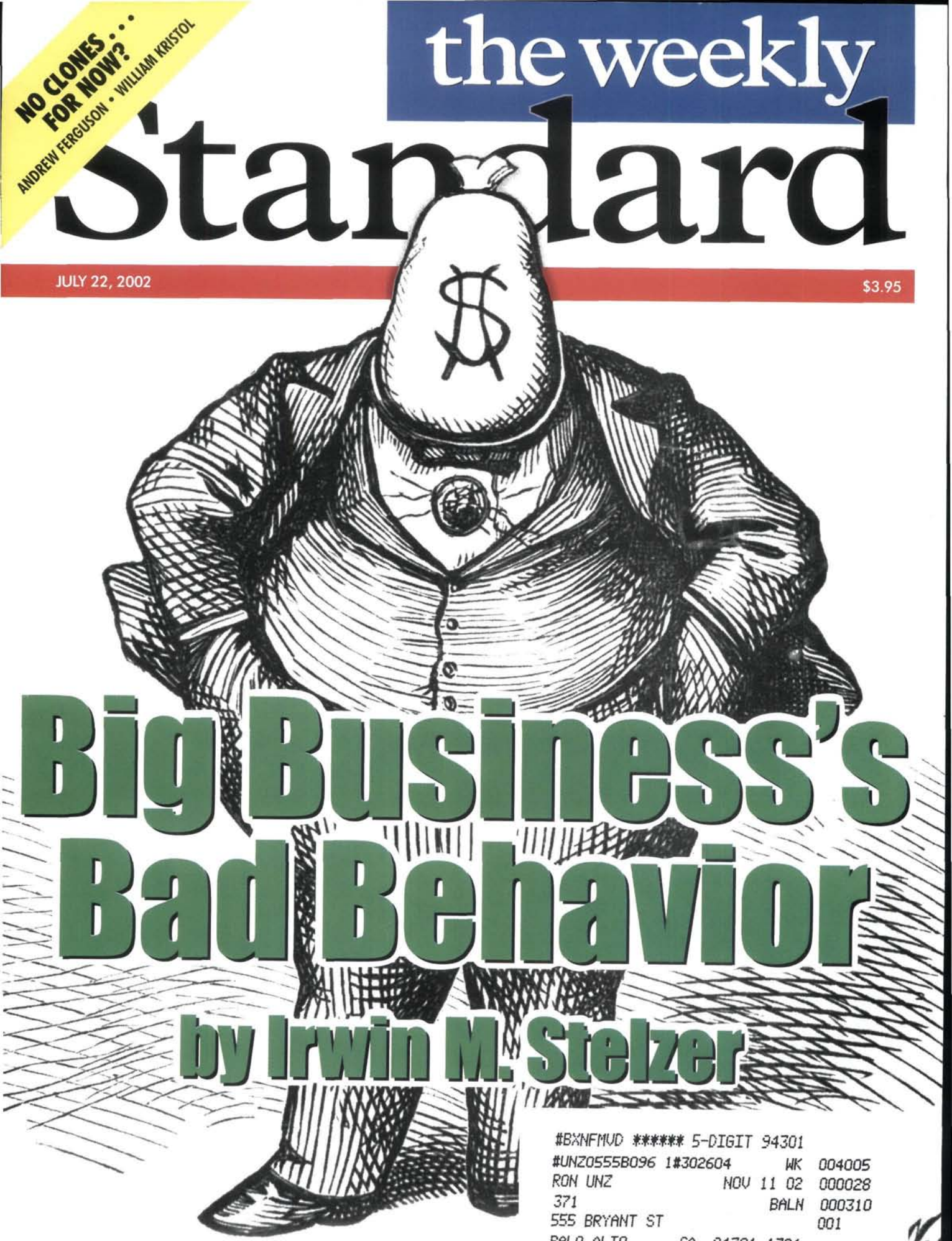
the weekly Standard

JULY 22, 2002

$3.95

NO CLONES . . . FOR NOW?
ANDREW FERGUSON • WILLIAM KRISTOL



# Big Business's Bad Behavior

## by Irwin M. Stelzer

#BXNFMVD ****** 5-DIGIT 94301
#UNZ0555B096 1#302604 WK 004005
RON UNZ NOV 11 02 000028
371 BALN 000310
555 BRYANT ST 001
PALO ALTO CA 94301-1704

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# We promised.

Two years ago, we made a promise to the United Nations: America would pay its overdue UN bills, a debt that was straining the UN's ability to do its job. For the last two years, we've kept our promise and helped the UN make a difference, like protecting children from polio.

Since 1988, thanks to the UN, polio cases have decreased by 99 percent. There are only 10 countries in the world where polio is still a threat. Polio can be eradicated by 2005 but the UN needs our support to reach this important goal.

Congress should act now on legislation making the third and final payment on our overdue bills. At a time when U.S. leadership in the United Nations is so important to the UN's work around the world, we must keep our promise.

**Honor our Commitment to the United Nations.**

BETTER WORLD CAMPAIGN

1301 Connecticut Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20036
www.betterworldfund.org
For more information contact (202) 462-4900

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Contents

July 22, 2002 • Volume 7, Number 43

2 Scrapbook..... *Sean Wilentz, Justice Dept., and more.*

4 Casual..... *John Podhoretz, drama addict.*

6 Correspondence... *On "The Elephant in the Sacristy."*

11 Editorial ..... *The Kass Council's Good Counsel*

## Articles

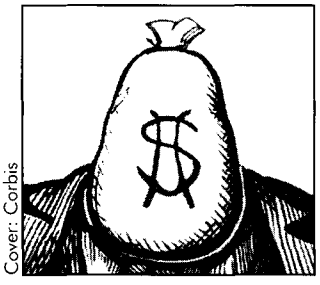
13 Washington Does Deep Think *The President's Council on Bioethics slices the sausage fine.* .... BY ANDREW FERGUSON

15 The Democrats' Perfect Storm *But don't bet on the business scandals' hurting Republicans.* ..... BY FRED BARNES

16 All the Hate That's Fit to Print *America's poison pen Muslim press..* ..... BY STEPHEN SCHWARTZ

18 Going for Broke *California's budget nightmare.* ..... BY STEPHEN MOORE

20 Brazil's Nut *The upcoming election bodes well for a Castro wannabe.* ..... BY CONSTANTINE C. MENGES



Cover: Corbis

## Features

22 Big Business's Bad Behavior

*How (and how not) to stop it..* ..... BY IRWIN M. STELZER

27 Genocide Fueled by Oil

*A showdown over our Sudan policy pits "doing good" against "doing business."*... BY ALLEN HERTZKE

## Books & Arts

31 Lone Rangers *When Texas was really Texas.* ..... BY BILL CROKE

33 A Call to Arms *Reforming the American military.* ..... BY MAX BOOT

34 Becoming Americans *The intersection of immigration and affirmative action.* ..... BY BETH HENARY

36 Irish Lies *The stories the Emerald Isle tells about itself.* ..... BY MARGARET BOERNER

39 THE STANDARD READER ... *The late Mark McGarrity; in brief, Toby Young's* How to Lose Friends and Alienate People.

40 Parody ..... *Basketball bad boy Allen Iverson makes the crime beat.*

**William Kristol,** *Editor* **Fred Barnes,** *Executive Editor*
**David Tell,** *Opinion Editor* **David Brooks, Christopher Caldwell,** *Senior Editors* **Richard Starr, Claudia Winkler,** *Managing Editors*
**J. Bottum,** *Books & Arts Editor* **Matt Labash,** *Senior Writer* **Stephen F. Hayes,** *Staff Writer*
**Victorino Matus, David Skinner,** *Assistant Managing Editors* **Lee Bockhorn,** *Associate Editor* **Jonathan V. Last,** *Online Editor*
**Bo Crader, Beth Henary, Katherine Mangu-Ward,** *Editorial Assistants*
**Katherine Rybak Torres,** *Art Director* **Jan Forbes,** *Production Manager*
**Tucker Carlson, John J. DiIulio Jr., Noemie Emery, Joseph Epstein, Andrew Ferguson, David Frum, David Gelernter, Reuel Marc Gerecht Brit Hume, Robert Kagan, Charles Krauthammer, Tod Lindberg, P.J. O'Rourke, John Podhoretz, Irwin M. Stelzer,** *Contributing Editors*
**Terry Eastland,** *Publisher* **David H. Bass,** *Deputy Publisher*
**Nicholas H.B. Swezey,** *Advertising & Marketing Manager* **John L. Mackall,** *Advertising Sales Manager* **Lauren Trotta Husted,** *Circulation Director*
**Carolyn Wimmer,** *Executive Assistant* **Tina Winston,** *Finance Director* **Catherine Titus,** *Publicity Director*
**Taybor Cook, Rachel DiCarlo,** *Staff Assistants*

the weekly Standard

THE WEEKLY STANDARD (ISSN 1083-3013) is published weekly (except the second week in January, the fourth week in April, the second week in July, and the fourth week in August ) by News America Incorporated, 1211 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10036. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. and additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to THE WEEKLY STANDARD, P.O. Box 96127, Washington, DC 20077-7767. For subscription customer service in the United States, call 1-800-274-7293. For new subscription orders, please call 1-800-283-2014. Subscribers: Please send new subscription orders to THE WEEKLY STANDARD, P.O. Box 96153, Washington, DC 20090-6153; changes of address to THE WEEKLY STANDARD, P.O. Box 96127, Washington, DC 20077-7767. Please include your latest magazine mailing label. Allow 3 to 5 weeks for arrival of first copy and address changes. Yearly subscriptions, $78.00. Canadian/foreign orders require additional postage and must be paid in full prior to commencement of service. Canadian/foreign subscribers may call 1-850-682-7653 for subscription inquiries. Visa/MasterCard payment accepted. Cover price, $3.95. Back issues, $3.95 (includes postage and handling). Send manuscripts and letters to the editor to THE WEEKLY STANDARD, 1150 17th Street, N.W., Suite 505, Washington, DC 20036-4617. Unsolicited manuscripts must be accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope. For a copy of THE WEEKLY STANDARD Privacy Policy, visit www.weeklystandard.com or write to Customer Service, THE WEEKLY STANDARD, 1150 17th St., NW, Suite 505, Washington, D.C. 20036. THE WEEKLY STANDARD Advertising Sales Office in Washington, DC, is 1-202-293-4900. Advertising Production: Call John L. Mackall 1-202-496-3354. Copyright 2002, News America Incorporated. All rights reserved. No material in THE WEEKLY STANDARD may be reprinted without permission of the copyright owner. THE WEEKLY STANDARD is a trademark of News America Incorporated.

BPA INTERNATIONAL

www.weeklystandard.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Can Sean Wilentz Read?

When last the nation heard from Princeton University historian Sean Wilentz, in November 2000, he was organizing a full-page *New York Times* advertorial in which various academic and Hollywood celebrities announced their solemn conclusion that Al Gore had just won a "clear constitutional majority of the popular vote." It was, as widely noted at the time, an elementary school dropout's sort of civics boner (there being no such thing as a constitutional majority of the popular vote for president), and THE SCRAPBOOK suspects that Wilentz will never fully live it down.

But it seems he may never learn from his famous mistake, either, for judging by the good professor's latest *New York Times* excursion, he still has a basic-level reading comprehension problem when it comes to America's founding documents—or any other English-language text, for that matter. And Wilentz continues to have trouble restraining himself from rushing into print with his resulting confusion.

There it was on the *Times* op-ed page July 8: "From Justice Scalia, a Chilling Vision of Religion's Authority in America," Wilentz's take on Scalia's speech to a death penalty symposium at the University of Chicago divinity school in February (subsequently reprinted in the May issue of *First Things*). At that conference, the jurist very clearly stated that:

(1) He disagrees with the papal encyclical *Evangelium Vitae* and the current Catholic catechism, which are anti-death penalty;

(2) If he *did* think the death penalty was morally tantamount to state-organized murder, Scalia would feel obliged to resign from the bench rather than (a) uphold and enforce capital sentences that offended his conscience but were nevertheless perfectly legal; or (b) use his power as a judge to override such perfectly legal sentences, thus imposing his religious views on a democratic polity that sees things differently; and

(3) While democracy's tendency to "obscure the divine authority behind government" often leads devout citizens to the conclusion that they are entitled to disobey laws they believe morally unjust, Scalia thinks this a grave error. Precisely because democratic government *does* proceed from assumed divine authority, he argues, its laws may be disputed and amended, but must always be respected.

Amazingly enough, Wilentz manages in the space of a single *Times* op-ed to turn all three of Justice Scalia's straightforward messages upside-down. According to Wilentz, Scalia's Chicago speech:

(1) promotes a conception of "Catholicism as Papist mind control";

(2) shows "bitterness against democracy" and attempts to "rally the devout against democracy's errors"; and

(3) embraces a belief in the divine roots of democratic political authority that "has had no appreciable place in our constitutional history because the framers rejected it"—which would certainly be news to Thomas Jefferson, who imagined, we seem to recall, that all men had been "endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights."

THE SCRAPBOOK can't quite decide whether Wilentz's Scalia broadside is dishonest or simply dumb. But we do have a theory about why he's published it as a solo act, instead of in multi-signatory advertorial form, as with the Gore thing in November 2000. This time around, we figure, even Rosie O'Donnell and Bianca Jagger were smart enough to turn him down. ♦

## A Winning Streak for Justice

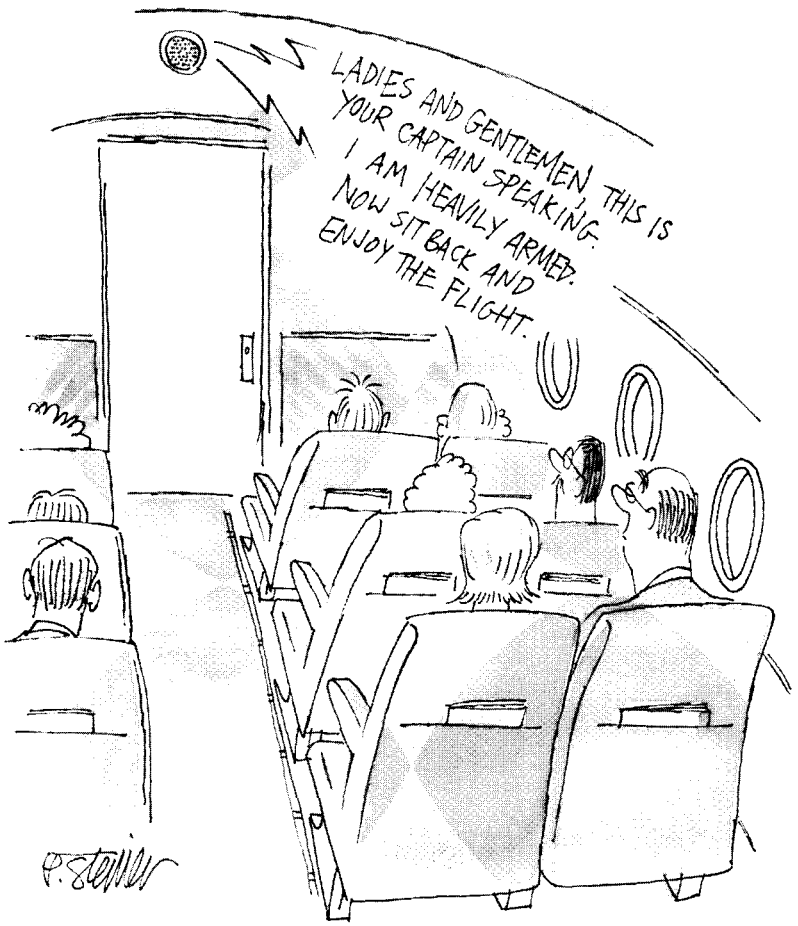
The Bush Justice Department's post-September 11 detention of terrorism suspects and witnesses has been regularly and roundly decried as unconstitutional in the nation's newspapers, to say the least. Late last week, though, the administration won not one, not two, not three, but four separate and fairly significant federal judicial decisions in its effort to defend that detention policy. We're quite sure the nation's newspapers, having exhaustively argued that John Ashcroft has the law all wrong, will now exhaustively discuss these . . . unexpected developments. Just in case they don't, however, here's a brief scoresheet.

On Thursday, July 11, Chief Judge Michael Mukasey of the federal Southern District Court in New York issued a 37-page opinion upholding the statutory basis and constitutionality of the government's detention of illegal immigrants on "material witness" warrants connected with a grand jury terrorism investigation—whether or not they have been charged with a crime. Back in April, another judge serving on the same New York district court, Shira Scheindlin, had ruled the opposite way, and at the time Scheindlin's decision was widely celebrated on the op-ed pages. Chief Judge Mukasey, however, last week called Scheindlin's opinion "flawed" and "poorly reasoned."

On Friday, July 12, Chief Judge



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED




## Robert Mueller's Muslim Outreach

A few weeks ago this page wondered what masochistic impulse had led FBI director Robert S. Mueller III to address the annual convention of the American Muslim Council. This is a group whose founder, Abdurahman Alamoudi, is a well-known supporter of Hamas and Hezbollah. These days, though, the AMC distances itself from Alamoudi. No wonder. The same day that Mueller spoke, Alamoudi, in attendance at the convention, warned Eli Kintisch, the Washington bureau chief of the Jewish *Forward*, that it might not be "good for your health" to remain at one of the discussions (a panel session, ironically, on "American Muslims in the Media"). Kintisch took the hint and left. The AMC later apologized and said its former leader wasn't acting on its behalf. Elsewhere in this issue, Stephen Schwartz chronicles the pervasiveness of Wahhabi threats and intimidation in the American Muslim media. It's disturbing to see the same spirit alive and well at events graced with the presence of the FBI director. ♦

Harvey Wilkinson of the Fourth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, writing for a unanimous three-judge panel, concluded that Federal District Judge Robert Doumar had committed procedural error by ordering that detained Taliban fighter Yaser Hamdi—an American born in Louisiana to Saudi parents—be granted immediate, unsupervised access to a lawyer.

Wilkinson and his colleagues reversed that order and instructed the lower court to hold a full hearing on the merits of the question—while remaining attentive to the fact that "Our Constitution's commitment of the conduct of war to the political branches of American government requires the court's respect at every step."

Also on Friday, the U.S. Supreme Court stayed New Jersey District Court Judge John Bissell's celebrated ruling last month that closed-door detention and deportation hearings in terrorism cases are unconstitutional. And in a separate case, the Supreme Court agreed to hear the government's appeal of a circuit court decision striking down as unconstitutional the federal detention without bail of non-citizens who have been charged with a crime.

All in all, not a bad couple of days for the war on terrorism. ♦

## The Scrapbook Gets Results!

"Why is the Bush administration sitting on a long-completed report on China's military power?" this page asked four weeks ago. Maybe they just needed a friendly nudge from The Scrapbook. Last Friday, the report—described by the AP as a "sobering new assessment"—was finally delivered to Congress. "The People's Republic of China's ambitious military modernization casts a cloud over its declared preference for resolving differences over Taiwan through peaceful means," the Pentagon assessment warns. ♦



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Casual

## One Life to Waste

Hello. My name is John, and I'm a soap-opera addict. At this point, you're supposed to shout, "Hello, John," so that I will feel welcomed and safe while discussing my addiction. But I know that even in this culture of confession, there are some behaviors that go beyond the bounds of acceptable conduct.

A grown man watching a soap opera? Society will not, cannot forgive.

Real men don't watch soap operas. Hell, men don't watch soap operas at all. According to demographic research, the daytime soap-opera audience skews 90 percent—90 percent!—female. You only see numbers like that when you're talking about Jews voting Democratic.

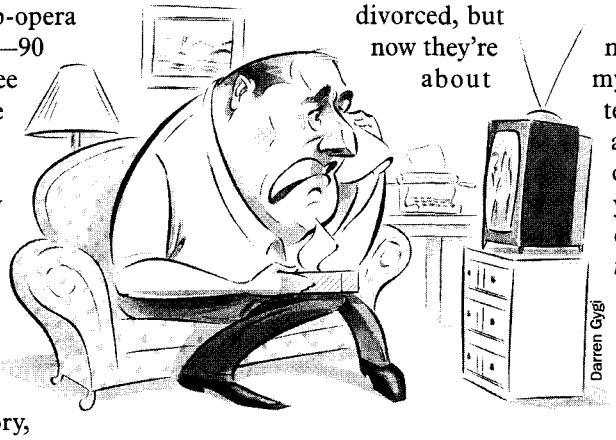
Men constitute a minority population in America, but at least we're close to par. Not so, clearly, when it comes to soap-opera-watching men. But even that number is enormous compared with my specific demographic category, which may be the smallest grouping in the entire, 281-million-strong U.S.A.

I'm a straight, Jewish, soap-opera-watching man who votes Republican. I'd guess there are maybe four people like me in the whole country.

Daytime network soap operas affect me the way rock cocaine affects a crackhead: The impact is immediate, the pleasure intense (though fleeting). Indeed, I am so addicted to soap operas that I will occasionally sample a Spanish-language soap from Mexico or Colombia on Univision or Telemundo, even though they speak far more quickly than my high-school Spanish-level ears can comprehend.

There are nine daytime soap operas in English. The oldest, *Guiding Light*, has been broadcast continuously on radio and television for 61 years. The newest, *Passions*, is two years old. CBS, which has the most popular soaps, airs three. NBC, whose soaps are the least popular, airs two. ABC has four, including *General Hospital*. *General Hospital* briefly became a major pop-culture sensation 20 years ago when its storyline about a rapist named Luke falling in storybook love with his own victim, Laura, became a consuming national obsession.

Luke and Laura remain on *General Hospital* to this day. Luke is pushing 50. They've been divorced, but now they're about to get married again. They have a son named Lucky who was brainwashed by the same woman who tried to kill everybody in the town of Port Charles 20 years ago with a nefarious weather machine that caused it to snow in July.


Darren Gygi

I got hooked on *General Hospital* during college, when I found myself home in the afternoon and wanted to see what all the fuss was about. But I became a soap devotee at the age of 6, thanks to my older sister Ruthie. We'd get home from school just in time to join our nanny, Imelda, in a daily viewing of a soap called *Another World*. I would have preferred a cartoon, but was outvoted.

Eventually, we gave up on *Another World* and moved on to *One Life to Live*. The villainess was named Vicki Lord. She eventually became a heroine, but heroines are boring, so the producers came up with an inventive notion: Vicki could be both a good guy and a bad guy. They gave her a split personality, so that while Vicki remained wonderful, her alter ego, Nicki, was very bad indeed.

Now I'm in my 40s, and I'm home in the afternoons again because I work at home. There's a television on my desk so that I can monitor news events. Often, though, I find myself monitoring *One Life to Live*, where the evil Nicki is still popping up every so often. Now she's trying to drive Vicki's teenage daughter insane.

*One Life to Live* is an ABC soap. I favor the ABC soaps. The CBS soaps are a little too frilly in set decoration for me. The NBC soaps are even more ridiculous and hysterical than the ABC plotlines I've told you about.

But my criticisms of the other networks don't really account for my ABC bias. Soaps are like sports teams. They change personnel and styles on a yearly basis. But once you've committed to them, you've chosen them above the competition. I watched *One Life to Live* 30 years ago, so I watch it and its ABC brethren now.

Soap operas are never-ending dramas with daily cliffhangers and multiple storylines. They are heavily plotted, but the plots move slowly so people can keep track even if they only watch occasionally. They make little or no dramatic sense. Anything can happen. Characters change from good to evil in a few weeks' time. Supernatural events occur and then are quickly forgotten.

I love plot, and soap opera is plot run amok. Nothing is allowed to get in the way of a story, not even elementary logic. Soap operas are to drama what junk food is to real food. Their appeal is so obvious I can't understand why others don't share my passion.

Or maybe you do, and you're just unwilling to admit it.

Coward.

**John Podhoretz**



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

**In 20 years, she'll be ready to buy her first home. We're already arranging the financing.**

*In the next ten years, 65 million families will want to buy homes. Fifteen million for the first time. They will expect low-cost mortgage money to be readily available, just as it has for the last 30 years. So will your children. So will their children.*

*Our job is to help make sure they're not disappointed. We're Freddie Mac. We exist for the sole purpose of establishing and maintaining a stable and adequate supply of funds to be used exclusively to finance homes. Not cars, not boats, not vacations. Just homes.*

*It's a very public mission few companies are prepared to carry out. It requires not only a singular focus on homeownership, but what Moody's Investors Service calls a "deeply ingrained risk-conservatism." A company Moody's ranks "among the best financial firms worldwide."*

*Which simply means "we'll be ready when she is." For more on how we expand homeownership, visit freddiemac.com.*

Freddie Mac

*We Open Doors®*

www.freddiemac.com

©2002 Freddie Mac

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

## The Elephant Revisited

In her article "The Elephant in the Sacristy" (June 17), Mary Eberstadt suggests that I was trying to minimize the abuse crisis in the Catholic Church by stressing that most of the acts involved are "ephebophilia" (acts with older teenagers), and therefore less damaging than true pedophilia. I think she is exactly right in suggesting that we should move away from the overly technical term "ephebophilia," which I have indeed used in the past, though I now believe that the word frankly communicates nothing to most well-informed readers. These days I tend rather to speak of these acts as "homosexuality."

However, I stand by the distinction I make in the severity of the acts, depending on the age of the young person involved. For a priest to have sexual contact with a 16- or 17-year-old boy is multiply wrong; it is sinful and in many cases criminal. All the psychiatric evidence, however, indicates that this behavior is still vastly less damaging than contact with a 6- or 7-year-old child. To extend the very specific medical label "pedophile" to these other acts is simply inaccurate. Call the acts "genocide" if you like, but it must be acknowledged that to do so is to engage in spurious rhetoric, and to twist the meaning of words beyond recognition.

Otherwise, I thought Eberstadt presented a fair and effective argument.

Philip Jenkins
*Professor of History and Religious Studies*
*Pennsylvania State University*
*University Park, PA*

Mary Eberstadt's article on the crisis in the Catholic church is the most clear-headed piece to date on this subject. The degree of intellectual dishonesty that has colored this issue is astonishing.

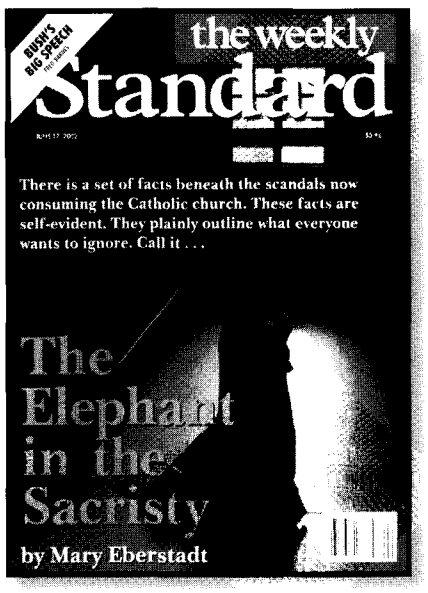
To cite one example, we have collected scores of despicable cartoons that generalize from the individual to the collective, painting all priests as pedophiles. Yet I've never seen a single one that bashes gay priests (though we would certainly protest such cartoons if they did appear), even though homosexuals are responsible for almost all the cases of child sexual molestation in the Church.

Most gay priests are not molesters, yet most molesting priests are gay. There is nothing homophobic about such an observation. It's just a matter of fact. Many thanks to Mary Eberstadt for having the guts to speak to the record.

William A. Donohue
*President, Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights*
*New York, NY*

Great piece and much needed. Unfortunately, I believe that this affair will soon be swept under the rug for several reasons.

To acknowledge the homosexual factor would wreck three decades of liberal promotion of gay pride and rights.




Second, most parishioners want the problem to disappear, since their major concern is a ticket to heaven.

Finally, if a significant percentage of the children assaulted had been female adolescents abused by heterosexual men, these men would be in prison now and the outcry in the press would have been massive beyond comprehension.

Duane R. Pierson
*Portland, ME*

Perhaps a companion piece to Mary Eberstadt's article "The Elephant in the Sacristy" might be titled "The Elephant in the Campsite." The horrors unfolding in the Catholic church bring to mind a heated debate that recently got similar attention in the press. Because of a firm stance on an issue related to what the Catholic church faces today, one organization saw its funding disappear, its meeting places taken away, and its young members booed during a presentation of the American flag at the 2000 Democratic national convention.

The organization, of course, is the Boy Scouts of America.

I wonder who now disputes the wisdom of their decision to exclude gay Scout leaders, and I praise the leaders of the Scouts for considering first and foremost the welfare of the boys in their charge.

Warren Saunders Jr.
*Durham, NC*

I agree with Mary Eberstadt that homosexuality in the priesthood is the root cause of the Catholic church's molestation scandal. However, I take issue with her dismissal of clerical celibacy as a red herring.

Eberstadt's equation of celibacy with teetotaling is completely inapt. Humans are not born with an "alcohol drive." We are, however, born with a sex drive, which, like our hunger for food, can cause real physical and emotional discomfort when denied. By enforcing celibacy on its priesthood, the Catholic church turns away heterosexual men who admit that they are not able or willing to sublimate their need for sexual intimacy. However, the Church has apparently long accommodated homosexual men who also do not wish to be celibate. If the Catholic church made the celibate vocation optional, wouldn't it make sense that more heterosexual men would be attracted into the ministry, thereby reducing the percentage of homosexuals in the priesthood?

Melissa Hecht
*Vienna, VA*

Mary Eberstadt endorses the grotesque proposition, unsupported by any data whatsoever, that gay men are responsible for the pedophilia scandal in the Roman Catholic Church. She asserts that many of the pedophile priests were abused as children and continue the pattern of abuse by inflicting their sexual attentions on other helpless children. But this has nothing whatever to do with



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

their sexual orientation. Heterosexual and homosexual preferences are innate, not learned, as a century of post-Freudian psychotherapy has documented in clear and unmistakable detail. Varied directions of sexual expression are born in all of us, and the path a person will take is set long before a priest lays hands on an altar boy or a parent explains the facts of life to a preteen.

Very few gay men of my acquaintance—one apparently not shared by Eberstadt, who seems never to have met a gay person except within the pages of some very odd and reactionary books—have any interest in seducing children or satisfying their sexual urges through children. The few who do are as deviant as heterosexual pedophiles from the standard, healthy, acceptable model of adult sexual behavior. Several gay couples that I count among my friends are raising daughters and one a son who have every statistical chance of becoming happy heterosexual adults. If they instead become happy homosexual adults, it is not because their parents have "led" them there but because a significant percentage of all normal human beings gravitate toward homosexual, rather than heterosexual, orientation.

As deeply as I disagree with many of the political pronouncements of the Hoover Institution, it is still a community of intellectuals based at one of the finest universities in the world. It is sad that a person of sufficient education and intelligence to be one of its research fellows should produce such a bigoted and narrow-minded article and that THE WEEKLY STANDARD should not only print it but also give it pride of place on the cover.

JUDITH GREEN
*Allentown, PA*

IN HER OTHERWISE WELL-ARGUED ESSAY on priest/boy sexual predation, Mary Eberstadt fails to convey the concept of sexual "immaturity" correctly. She writes, "But 'intergenerational sex,' with its inevitable elements of adult power and coercion, is not something children gravitate toward intuitively."

The immaturity concept does not stipulate that boys gravitate towards adults, but that boys gravitate towards other boys. If their emotional development stops at this still-juvenile stage, then it follows that, as grown men, they will desire the objects they desired as boys, that is to say, other boys. It has nothing to do with "intergenerational" sex. There is a failure to connect, as adults, with other adults. That is why it is sexual *immaturity*.

Many psychologists believe, or believed at one time, that this was at the root of pedophilia, at least at the psychological level. While this concept may not be correct, and while this understanding does not make such activities less sinful, it is a characterization that holds within it a reasonable approach to understanding this affliction. Far from being an attempt to turn this horror into a "simple" medical problem, it is an explanation consonant with the deviancy itself.

Men want to molest boys because they cannot find satisfaction within their own cohort. Like children, they are intimidated by "adults." This explanation renders the exploitation of children even more awful than previously argued since the molester *knows* that the child is afraid and confused, just as he was in his youth.

EDMOND KEENAN WYNN
*Healdsburg, CA*

MARY EBERSTADT DECLARES the scandal at hand to be "almost entirely about man-boy sex." It's hard to agree with this posture, especially when just before the opening of the recent National Council of Bishops conference one of their number resigned after being discovered carrying on affairs with various women over the years. The sexual abuse of women and girls by priests has been consistently marginalized by conservative Catholics. Why is that? Perhaps Eberstadt would rather not consider these incidents abuses because they screw up her central point—that this scandal tells us that gays are child molesters and corrupters. She writes of "human history," as if gays are not part of that history (as if not human). But if you believe the actions of sexual abusers within a group are indicative of the activities, even the nature, of that entire group, then why (we may legitimately ask Eberstadt) does not opposite-sex abuse by priests also tell us terrible things about heterosexuals? Are crimes such as wife-beating or infanticide ever deployed to challenge the very validity of heterosexuality, as Eberstadt insinuates priestly sexual abuses do of homosexuality? If not, why not?

Conclusions considerably less prejudicial than Eberstadt's are drawn by so many laity that they seem to be prevalent even among victims themselves. When I have spoken with survivors, they almost never blame "homosexuals" or "gay culture" per se for what happened to them: They blame the perpetrators, and the perpetrators' bosses for not listening to the victims or doing enough to help them. Both groups seem to intuitively understand what studies have demonstrated—gays are no more likely than heterosexuals are to commit acts of sexual abuse. Such widely shared responses lead me to suggest that to stigmatize homosexuals via this situation would be, to put it gently, short-sighted and opportunistic.

At times Eberstadt seems not only ignorant of homosexuality, but of sex, period. Does Eberstadt really believe intergenerational sex and obsessions with youth and beauty are desires limited to homosexuals? Has she never read a copy of *Barely Legal*? Has she never done a Web search for "Live Nude Girls"? Sexual abuse is a crime of authority, and of power, not just of sex, and the loss of autonomy suffered in forced sexual submission (especially to an authority figure like a priest) does as much damage to victims as the sex itself. The unquestioning obedience conservative Catholic rulers and lay followers demand (now, bizarrely, more than ever) probably facilitated these abuses and coverups.

For Eberstadt to try to demonstrate that the high number of same-sex cases in the current Catholic scandal reveals something worrisome about homosexuality itself is wrong. What this scandal tells us is that if our religion had not been laboring under centuries of sexual persecution, hypocrisy, fear, and ignorance, we would never have had this present-day disaster to deal with. If our Church did not deck itself out in a mystique of power so impregnable, priestly abusers would not find so many ready victims among young Catholics trained to obey men of the cloth. (When you are a child, "telling on" an authority figure—priest or parent—is unbearably hard.) If Catholicism had dared to admit its sexual agenda was archaic and hypocritical, gay priests would today be openly accepted and sup-



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ported by their superiors—a number already are by their parishioners—and those superiors, no longer terrified from hiding (among other things) years of hushed-up cases and the overwhelming homosexuality of their clergy (including, through sheer statistical probability, many bishops and cardinals themselves), would have reacted to each and every charge the way we now sorely wish they had: by picking up the phone and calling the cops.

Eberstadt's article is most objectionable because it leaves us stuck in this abysmal situation with no real hope of solutions. Purging the seminaries of homosexuals will ultimately mean a priest-free Catholicism. Resorting to venerable Church reactions such as ignorance, hysteria, and persecution might make a few powerful people feel more so—but it will also destroy the already seriously damaged faith and trust of millions more.

PATRICK GILES
*New York, NY*

MARY EBERSTADT approvingly quotes a sentence from the Catechism in the conclusion of "The Elephant in the Sacristy": "This [homosexual] inclination, which is objectively disordered, constitutes for most a trial." Her obsession with gays must be a trial for her as well. I will nonetheless try to have compassion for poor, objectively disordered Mary Eberstadt, as the Church advocates.

Pedophile priests are a Catholic problem, not a gay one. Gays and straights have the same low rate of pedophilia in the outside world, so there must be something in the environment of the priesthood that disproportionately attracts pedophiles. Perhaps the celibacy requirement drives away heterosexual men who in other denominations act on their religious vocations because they are able to marry. Perhaps the Catholic teaching that homosexuality is sinful draws to the priesthood some sexually conflicted men, who don't want to get married to women, can't deal with their attraction to men, and vainly hope that celibacy will eliminate it. Perhaps a sanctimonious coverup culture in the hierarchy led pedophile priests to believe that they could act on their impulses without consequences.

Eberstadt is correct that research on pedophilia must proceed without fear of political correctness. In the 1980s, party-line research about recovered memories of childhood abuse led to a witch-hunt resulting in the phony daycare center Satanic abuse cases involving Margaret Kelly Michaels, the Amiraults, and others. But warped by her objective disorder, Eberstadt proposes a one-sided research program designed to show that sexual orientation is malleable.

While Eberstadt condemns left-wing pressure for party-line research on pedophilia, right-wing pressure is also intense. This year, the University of Minnesota Press published Judith Levine's book *Harmful to Minors: The Perils of Protecting Children From Sex*, which argues that the effects of pedophilia are less harmful than commonly thought. Republican Tim Pawlenty, the Minnesota House of Representatives majority leader, called for the university to cancel the book. Also this year, legislators cut $100,000 from the University of Missouri's budget because political scientist Harris Mirkinof published a 1999 article questioning whether all sexual contacts between adults and children constituted abuse. And in 1998, the U.S. House of Representatives unanimously passed a resolution condemning an article published by the American Psychological Association concluding, after a review of 59 prior studies, that the effects of childhood sexual abuse encounters were "neither pervasive nor typically intense."

While I have no idea whether any of these studies are valid, only free discourse—the kind THE WEEKLY STANDARD so often advocates—will help us address this terrible problem.

JAY WEISER
*New York, NY*

MARY EBERSTADT REFERS to Andrew Greeley as a Jesuit in "The Elephant in the Sacristy." He is not a Jesuit, but rather a secular priest in the Archdiocese of Chicago.

For some reason this mistake is made quite frequently—perhaps the thinking is that only a Jesuit could write novels as racy as Greeley's.

WILLIAM M. KLIMON
*Herndon, VA*

## MARY EBERSTADT RESPONDS

MY THANKS to Philip Jenkins, William A. Donohue, Duane R. Pierson, Warren Saunders Jr., Edmond Keenan Wynn, and others, including those writers not published here, for their insights and encouraging words.

First, a couple of isolated points. I did not suggest—nor would I argue—that Philip Jenkins was "trying to minimize the abuse crisis." I do believe that some Catholics have become overly enamored of sociological—as opposed to, say, moral or religious—analyses of the scandals. That clerical sexual wrongdoing is ecumenical is not in doubt. But at a time of actual crisis for the Church, it seems tepid to argue that the abuse cases are somehow less of a "Catholic" problem on the grounds that the Lutherans and the Episcopalians and even some rabbis suffer from them, too.

Writer Melissa Hecht—like several other correspondents—questions whether a married priesthood would ameliorate today's abuse crisis. This is true in a trivial sense, insofar as "married" implies "heterosexual," and the abuse problem is (as Hecht and most other writers acknowledge) overwhelmingly homosexual in etiology. But this is uncomfortably like arguing that the solution to wife-beating is to outlaw marriage, or that compulsory sterilization will diminish infanticide.

These exceptions aside, most of my critics object that the Catholic church's sexual abuse problem is not a homosexual problem. The record shows otherwise.

What does society think of a man who acts on his sexual interest in underage girls? It thinks he is a heterosexual who has unacceptably transgressed certain social and moral and criminal lines. What then should we call another man who acts upon his sexual interest in teenage or younger boys? He can only be deemed, likewise and comparably, a homosexual who has done the same.

Of course, as my article reviewed in some detail, a great deal of passion and energy goes into denying just this equivalence. When was the last time you heard the phrase "ephebophile" applied to a heterosexual man? The answer is almost certainly that you haven't. That is because "ephebophile," in the technical-



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sounding nomenclature of the scandal commentary, is a term whose chief attraction is that it spares one from having to employ the words "homosexual" or "gay" in attempting to describe exactly which sexual crimes the offending priests have committed.

A second way of answering the larger question is empirical—i.e., to examine the real facts of actual cases, as my essay undertook to do. There is, of course, widespread and belligerent resistance to just such reviews. Thus one writer complains of "the grotesque proposition, unsupported by any data whatsoever, that gay men are responsible for the pedophilia scandal." "Data"? "Support"? Wasn't the "elephant" essay long enough? Well then, how about Rod Dreher's *National Review* report in March that "of the 80 priests [in Boston] whose names were turned in to cops, only two or three were true pedophiles; the other 77 or 78 (the numbers differ depending on who I talk to) were homosexuals who have been accused of seducing male teenagers"? How about the admission by a Jesuit priest and psychologist, quoted in the *Washington Post* some weeks after my essay appeared, saying that of some 400 clerical offenders he had treated, "most were gay"? How about Maureen Orth's blood-curdling examination of the Paul Shanley case in the August issue of *Vanity Fair*? It shows in horrifying detail not only Shanley's preeminence in the gay community and his predatory sexuality, but also how other gay priests helped make it possible for him to rape and seduce scores of boys.

Indeed, the only way to argue that gay priests are not largely responsible for the Church's man-boy sex crisis is to choke the life out of ordinary language itself. That is not to say there is any shortage of volunteers flexing their fingers for just that purpose. In the course of the scandals, as my essay documented, the majority of mainstream commentators, religious and secular both, have outdone each other in declaring that black is in fact white, up is indeed down, and—to switch metaphors—that the fat gray pachyderm with the trunk and tusks is something (anything!) other than what it appears to be.

"The involvement with boys is homosexual activity, but that doesn't mean the person who's doing it is homosexually oriented," goes a typically contorted example (from one of the most widely quoted authorities on the scandals, incidentally). Likewise, the same Jesuit psychologist quoted in a preceding paragraph goes on to report with apparent seriousness that despite the fact that "most" offenders of his experience are gay, "a significant number" of those actual and potential boy-ravishers are in fact "straight." Yes, "straight." George Orwell, Catholic America hath need of thee.

And so especially do the bishops. The showcasing at their Dallas conference of a female victim—as if she were in any numerical or historical sense representative of the Church's current criminal caseload—was a marvel of implied duplicity. (Do we really have to add that heterosexual exploitation by any authority figure, in or out of a Roman collar, should be—and is—widely deplored? If so, let us stipulate it here. And let us also repeat, for the record, that most homosexually inclined adults manifestly are not child abusers.)

Note well, however: If the Church's current sex scandal were limited to cases of heterosexual abuse, it would remain just that—a scandal, as opposed to a full-blown crisis, and one whose lawsuits and trials and settlements and allegations would be reduced to a mere fraction of their current level.

If the recidivism rate for clerical drunk driving was anywhere near that of gay priests seducing teenage boys, all drinking priests would have been stripped of their licenses, keys, and vehicles decades ago. If the problem instead were priestly heterosexual rape, there would similarly be no esoteric rationalizations about "immaturity," "psycho-dynamic development," and the rest. To put the contrast most sharply, as Duane R. Pierson does in his admirable letter, "if a significant percentage of the children assaulted had been female adolescents abused by heterosexual men, these men would be in prison now and the outcry in the press would have been massive beyond comprehension." Who could possibly argue otherwise?

The answer is no one. There are only two ways of negotiating the elephant in the sacristy: Either ignore it, or fight tooth and nail against anyone who names the animal. Both these options, though manifestly conducive to short-term tactical success (witness the bishops' conference), are nevertheless doomed to longer-term strategic failure. With every news story, every day and week that the formerly seduced and assaulted step forward, the enormity of the thing increases, and so also does the mental and moral effort of overlooking it.

Bad as all this is for the Church, it is worse for the contemporary ideology of gay rights. If there is a single, extra-Catholic meaning to the Church's current disgrace, it is that the gay-rights dogma of our time—the notion that homosexually active men can be placed in close contact with adolescents and young boys without some significant portion of those men feeling and acting upon sexual attraction to those boys—has been toppled by the facts of the priest scandals. Any institution that pretends otherwise is simply rolling the dice toward the moral, financial, and—not least—actuarial disasters lately visited on the American Catholic church.

Finally, my regrets to all for calling Andrew Greeley a "Jesuit" when he is not. By way of consolation, I hope that at least some Jesuits have been quietly pleased to find such a robust spokesman for priestly virtue credited to their ranks, even if it was by mistake.

• • •

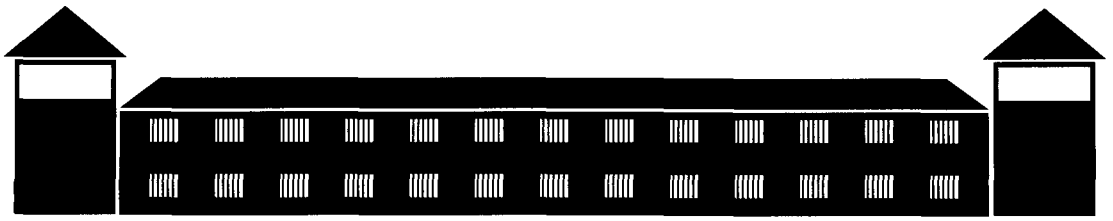
**THE WEEKLY STANDARD**
welcomes letters to the editor.
Letters will be edited for length and clarity and must include the writer's name, address, and phone number.
All letters should be addressed:
**Correspondence Editor**
**THE WEEKLY STANDARD**
1150 17th St., NW, Suite 505
Washington, DC 20036.

You may also fax letters: (202) 293-4901
or e-mail: editor@weeklystandard.com.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Advertisement



# In the mid 1980's Congress abolished parole and passed harsh drug sentencing laws. Many states followed, creating a tenfold increase in the number of drug offenders incarcerated.[1]

## *If prisoners were able to earn earlier release:*

- Incentives toward cooperation, study, and learning skills would create a safer environment for staff and prisoners alike.
- Families could be reunited earlier, with better prospects for successful reentry into society.
- High costs incarcerating drug offenders — $9.4 billion annually[2] — would be dramatically reduced.
- Inhumane prison overcrowding would be redressed. The federal system is already 31% over capacity, and is growing at more than 9% annually — the equivalent of a prison a month to keep overcrowding from growing worse.[3]
- Prisons would less likely be breeding grounds for extremists and terrorists.[4]

# Isn't rewarding achievement the American Way?

Kevin B. Zeese, President, Common Sense for Drug Policy
3220 N Street NW #141, Washington, DC 20007
www.csdp.org * www.DrugWarFacts.org * www.addictinthefamily.org * info@csdp.org
202-299-9780 * 202-518-4028 (fax)

---

[1] Beck Alan. J. Prison and Jail Inmates at Midyear 1999. Washington, DC: Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, April, 2000; Maguire, Kathleen and Ann. L. Pastore, editors Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics, 1998. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1998.
[2] Bureau of Justice Statistics, Profile of Jail Inmates 1996 (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, April 1996), pp. 1, 4; Bureau of Justice Statistics, Prisoners in 1996 (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1997), pp. 10-11; Criminal Justice Institute, Inc.: Camp, George M. and Camp, Camille Graham. The Corrections Yearbook, 1998. Middletown, Connecticut: Criminal Justice Institute, 1999.
[3] US Dept of Justice, An analysis of non-violent drug offenders with minimal criminal histories, DOJ executive summary, Feb 4, 1994. "Since the end of 1988, when the full impact of these new laws was realized, the prison population has grown by an average of over 650 inmates per month, or enough to fill one medium size institution with each new month." (p. 13)
[4] Cal Thomas, "Radical Recruiting in US Prisons", Lancaster New Era, June 22, 2002.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the weekly Standard

# The Kass Council's Good Counsel

With the release last week of its report, *Human Cloning and Human Dignity* (available at *www.bioethics.gov*), the President's Council on Bioethics has made a large and lasting contribution to our national debate on dealing with the revolutionary advances in biotechnology that are—for better and worse—now upon us. The report is the result of six months of sober reflection and intense discussion by some of the nation's leading thinkers and scientists, led by council chairman Leon Kass. And despite the many different perspectives, backgrounds, and political dispositions represented on the council, a majority of the council calls in the report for a four-year federal moratorium—a national ban—on all human cloning.

The first part of the report focuses on "cloning-to-produce-children." It describes—with moral clarity and force—the horror of manufacturing human clones: a world where the mysterious coming to life of a human child becomes just another industrial process; a world where parents treat their offspring as biological experiments; a world where individuals or societies choose the genetic characteristics of the next generation according to their own plans and desires. In painting this picture, the report offers a defense of human procreation and the human family that will ground our resistance to the Brave New World to come. It also helps guide our thinking about repairing the "broken hearth" and overcoming the reproductive nihilism that is already upon us.

The second part of the report focuses on the ethics of research that exploits cloned human embryos. It offers a moving and definitive defense of the dignity of nascent human life, and warns of the moral degradation that would come from routinely creating, buying, selling, and destroying it. "We find it disquieting, even somewhat ignoble, to treat what are in fact seeds of the next generation as mere raw material for satisfying the needs of our own," the report declares. It continues:

> How we respond to the weakest among us, to those who are nowhere near the zenith of human flourishing, says much about our willingness to envision the boundaries of humanity expansively and inclusively. It challenges . . . the depth of our commitment to equality. If from one perspective the fact that the embryo seems to amount to little may invite a weakening of our respect, from another perspective its seeming insignificance should awaken in us a sense of shared humanity. This was once our own condition. From origins that seem so little came our kin, our friends, our fellow citizens, and all human beings.

Perhaps even the most cold-blooded scientific researchers will find something in this report to temper their unrestrained enthusiasm for creating an industry of embryo experimentation. And perhaps suffering patients—and all of us are, at least prospectively, suffering patients—will realize, as the report puts it, that,

> we are not only patients, and easing suffering is not our only moral obligation. As much as we wish to alleviate suffering now and to leave our children a world where suffering can be more effectively relieved, we also want to leave them a world in which we and they want to live—a world that honors moral limits, that respects all life whether strong or weak, and that refuses to secure the good of some human beings by sacrificing the lives of others.

By calling for a moratorium on all human cloning, the council challenges the nation to engage in such reflection and restraint. It challenges us not simply to protect developing human life, but to face the other moral hazards of proceeding with cloned embryo (and all other embryo) research. These include the exploitation of women as egg donors, the expanding power to manipulate human life at its earliest stages, the misallocation of health care resources, and the descent toward eugenics and fetal farms that such research is likely to produce.

The President's Council on Bioethics has done its work in clarifying what is at stake in this debate. It has connected human cloning both to the human goods it endangers and to the even more daunting wave of genetic engineering that is likely to follow, if we begin to go down this road. Now the Senate should do its duty by passing a ban—or at least a moratorium—on all human cloning before the congressional session ends.

—*William Kristol*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Subscribers Only!

## You can now read THE WEEKLY STANDARD on the web, even before your mailed copy arrives!

## Go to www.weeklystandard.com

As soon as we send each new issue to the printer on Friday night, we format it in Adobe PDF and post it on our website at weeklystandard.com. As a result, you can be reading the magazine as early as you like—even over the weekend.

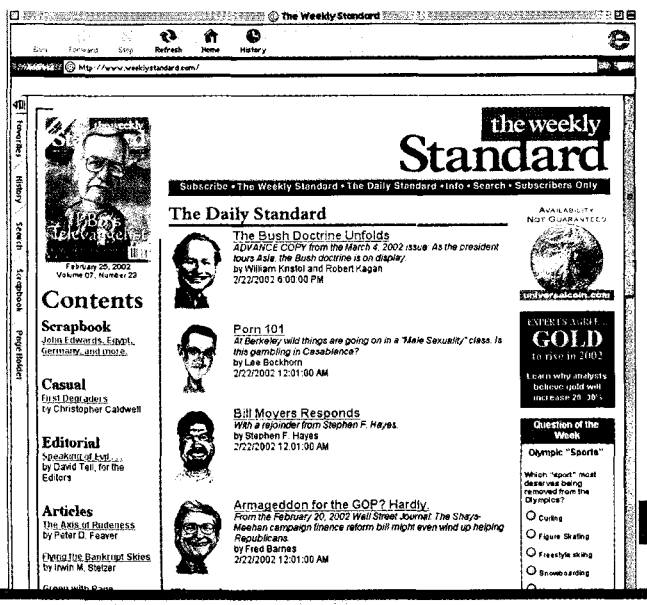
## Register for access

All you have to do to open an issue, once you're on our site at weeklystandard.com, is register by going to Subscribers Only. What you'll need to do—as we explain on the site—is choose a password.

You'll find that the magazine in Adobe PDF has everything that's in the printed magazine (except the paper). The same pages, with the same layout and color, the same articles, the same illustrations, the same covers. If you like, you can print out the entire magazine. Be your own printer, so to speak.

## Get back issues

Here's another benefit of being a subscriber: You can also browse through our virtual library. You can do that because we've also formatted back issues in Adobe PDF. So if you want an article from one or two or three years ago, you can, with just a few keystrokes, find the issue it's in and then turn right to it. You'll find our virtual library on the Subscribers Only page.




Thanks for subscribing.
And we hope you like
the added benefits.
All available online.

the weekly
Standard
Standard • Info • Search • Subscribers Only

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Washington Does Deep Think

## The President's Council on Bioethics slices the sausage fine. BY ANDREW FERGUSON

WHEN THE President's Council on Bioethics released its report on cloning last Thursday morning, in a gilded meeting room at the Ritz Carlton Hotel in Washington, Sean Tipton made himself available to reporters in a hallway outside. But he wasn't sure whether he should be upset.

"Let's be clear about what this means," he said. Tipton is a board member and spokesman for the Coalition for the Advancement of Medical Research, the Washington lobbying arm of the biotechnology industry, which of course strongly favors cloning. The council's report does not favor cloning, however, or doesn't seem to, anyway. The council called for a permanent ban on cloning intended to produce children. By a vote of ten to seven, it recommended a four-year moratorium on cloning embryos for medical research.

Somebody had leaked a summary of the report to the *New York Times*, which in that morning's editions had announced, ex cathedra, that the report "was a blow to scientists and advocates for patients, who view research cloning as a promising avenue for treatments and cures."

This is why Sean Tipton seemed to be upset at first. "A moratorium is a de facto ban, and there are millions of people with disease and disability who have not had a voice in this process," he said.

But he didn't stay upset for long. He kept talking, and pretty soon his tone had brightened considerably. Actually, he said, when you look at it closely, a majority of council members had specifically rejected an outright ban on research cloning. And President Bush, who appointed them, favors such a research ban.

"I was one of those, back in January when the council was put together, who thought it was a stacked deck," said Tipton. "I thought they'd just rubber-stamp the president's position, call for a total ban on all cloning, and go home.

"Clearly that hasn't happened. Clearly some things have changed. Our arguments are just too strong."

He gave a half-smile. "Really, when you think about it, you'd have to say this is a clear rejection of the president's position, by the president's own council."

Is he right? The White House claimed to be pleased with the report, and advocates for a total cloning ban claimed to be pleased, too. But it is the biotech industry, as Tipton realized, that truly has reason to be relieved. In Washington the political debate about cloning is stalled. Last month, the Senate declined to vote on either of two cloning bills—one that would fund research cloning, another that would ban all cloning outright. The momentum for a ban on research cloning, which seemed to be at hand as recently as this spring, has quickly dissipated, owing largely to a skilled lobbying campaign from the biotech industry and its allies in the "patient advocate community." And the council's ten-to-seven endorsement of a moratorium seems unlikely to revive the issue.

The council is an implausible creature, at least by the standards of Washington advisory commissions. Chaired by Leon Kass, the well-known bioethicist from the University of Chicago, it is top heavy with legal scholars, professional philosophers, and research scientists—intellectuals mostly unused to the grimy practicalities of political sausage-making and seldom required to make concrete proposals for public policy.

The council's charge was grander than policy-making. It was "to undertake fundamental inquiry into the human and moral significance of developments in biomedical and behavioral science and technology." Cloning is just the most prominent and immediate example of these developments. Pursuing its inquiry, the council has over the last seven months held long, discursive public sessions in hotel ballrooms, listening to briefings from scientists and papers from ethicists, and chewing over such topics as the difference between "motive" and "intent." This is politics as conceived by Aristotle rather than Trent Lott.

In his public comments, Kass never fails to call attention to the panel's detachment from the Washington whirl, and at Thursday's session he gently chided the press for its concentration on the quotidian.

"Since coming to Washington," he said, "I've learned that people always want to know the bottom line—are you for it or are you against it?"

The council, however, had larger concerns.

"This is an ethics council," he said, with a trace of exasperation. "We did not just ask, Will it work? Or, Is it safe? We asked, Is it good, is it right, is it noble, just, wise, and prudent? We do not begin our discussion with the technique of cloning itself. We discuss it on the plane of the human goods that might be threatened by it."

Well, okay. But are you for it or against it? The answer, as you might expect, is complicated, and to find it one must go to the report—145 pages not counting glossary, index, bibliography, and several highly revealing "personal statements" submitted by individual council members. It is a

*Andrew Ferguson is a contributing editor to* THE WEEKLY STANDARD *and a columnist for Bloomberg News.*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dazzling document, perhaps the most comprehensive and lucid primer ever produced on any issue of public policy, with long chapters on the science and history of cloning and the philosophical roots of the present disagreements. It is also, as far as I know, the only report ever issued by an organ of the federal government that has a section entitled "The Goodness of Existence."

This section falls in the report's most unequivocal chapter, a stirring and careful repudiation of the case for *cloning with the intention of producing* children. This conclusion was endorsed unanimously, by all seventeen of the council's participating members. And it is useful to have the arguments against reproductive cloning so readily accessible, and presented so well. But the fact—the bottom line, if you'll excuse the expression—is that no person in a position of authority advocates reproductive cloning. This is true even of the Senate, which otherwise dithers when the subject of cloning is raised.

What trips up the Senate is also what trips up the council—not reproductive cloning but research cloning, the production of human embryos so their cells can be used in medical experiments. Here the council's unanimity breaks down. As the newspapers reported, seven of the members believed that research cloning should immediately proceed, with full government funding under a system of federal regulation. Ten voted instead to recommend the four-year moratorium. But within these voting blocs are subsets and sub-subsets, whose delicately nuanced positions are fully ventilated in the report and, because they carry implications for the larger cloning debate, are worth a brief summary. The council members may not know much about making sausage, but they can slice it very fine.

Among the seven advocates of research cloning, four are research scientists with few qualms about the procedure. "In the spirit of these times," writes one, "I say, 'Let's roll.'" For them, the embryo is a mere "clump of cells," and there is a bracing, even admirable, clarity and vigor to their view. The other three research supporters are professors of the liberal arts. They are bent double under the weight of their qualms. They are torn. They have "serious moral concerns," because they are uncertain what moral status to assign to the cloned human embryo.

Leon Kass

Earl Kelemy

The view that the embryo is a "mere clump of cells," they write, is gravely unsubtle. It "greatly underestimates the moral seriousness of the question of whether to proceed with research on nascent human life. And it greatly mischaracterizes the meaning of potentiality." Moreover, it ignores "the profound mystery of the origins of human life." They therefore devote several thousand words, each of them anguished, to this mystery, this meaning of potentiality, and to this moral seriousness, before endorsing the destruction of this nascent human life. No wonder intellectuals hate the bottom line! It turns out the bottom line is the same for them as for those who hold the unsubtle view. The result is the same whether the professors are anguished or not. The embryo will be created, used for parts, and then discarded. Fortunately, the professors have the consolations of poetry.

"In removing the embryo, through research, from the circle of life," wrote one in his personal statement, "we cannot remove it from the circle of human indebtedness." Of course, it's still dead.

The ten pro-moratorium members are divided, too, and it is in this division that the biotech industry will find its unexpected good news. Seven of this ten oppose cloning even for research purposes, because of the moral status they assign to an embryo, or because they believe creating an embryo for the sake of destroying it crosses a crucial moral line. These seven make clear that their opposi-



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion, rooted in absolute principle, is unchangeable. They favor a ban, but they endorse a moratorium, they admit, as an intermediate step only, to encourage a "robust national debate" in hopes of building an anti-cloning consensus in the public at large, before a comprehensive ban on all cloning might plausibly be enacted.

The three other moratorium advocates, however, hold no such unalterable views. They oppose a ban. Their concerns have to do with how a regulatory regime would work, and whether the rights of patients and egg donors can be sufficiently protected. A four-year moratorium would allow these questions to be resolved. After which, they suggest in their written statements, research cloning could proceed without their objection.

The ten-to-seven endorsement for a moratorium is thus misleading. In fact, a majority of the council members, after months of reflection and research, have found no overriding ethical reason to oppose research cloning, so long as it operates with careful regulatory oversight.

Splendid news for cloning advocates, bad news for their opponents—and an outcome unforeseen back in January, when the council was allegedly stacked to endorse the president's call for a comprehensive ban.

At the session Thursday morning, a reporter asked Kass whether any council members had changed their views during deliberations.

"It's been a roller coaster of a conversation," he said. "I suppose there has been some movement in some places—certainly movement toward recognizing the power of other points of view. What this tells us is that the debate should go forward."

In the hallway outside the meeting room, I asked Sean Tipton the same question.

"If there's been any movement, it's been in our direction," he said. "In a way, you could expect that. The more these issues are debated, the more people tend to agree that this research should go ahead. This could have been a lot worse, believe me. More debate is fine." ♦

# The Democrats' Perfect Storm

## But don't bet on the business scandals' hurting Republicans in November. BY FRED BARNES

JACK GERMOND, the great political writer, tells a story about a horseplayer. It's a tale with a political lesson. The horseplayer wakes up one morning at 5:55 A.M. with the number 5 in his mind. Having played hunches before, he's intrigued. Suddenly he realizes it's his 55th birthday, May 5. He's ready to hit the racetrack, but he's a salesman and has to go to a sales stop at the Johnson Building. He takes a taxi whose registration number is 5555. When he arrives, he sees he's at 555 5th Avenue and his meeting is on the fifth floor. This is too much. He rushes to the track, waits until the fifth race and bets $5,000 on horse number 5. The horse comes in fifth. The lesson is you don't always get what you expect at the track—or in politics. There's another way of putting this: The future in politics is never a straight line projection of the present.

Democrats believe it *is* a straight line. For months, they've sought an issue to use against President Bush and congressional Republicans, and they believe they've finally found one. The tax cut, Enron, the deficit, terrorist clues before September 11—those didn't work out. But with the corporate fraud scandal upon us, Democrats believe Republican ties to big business and especially GOP efforts at deregulation make for a perfect campaign issue lasting through the midterm elections in November. Rather than a fleeting moment in politics, they believe the scandal has created a new era in which regulation and business-bashing are the touchstones and Republicans are sitting ducks. Maybe they're right, but I doubt it.

*Fred Barnes is executive editor of* THE WEEKLY STANDARD.

House Democratic leader Dick Gephardt has gone so far as to accuse House Republicans of actually causing the wave of corporate corruption. It's "the result of [their] drive to deregulate" after capturing Congress in 1994, he told reporters. Their "actions or inactions . . . are the reason we now have come to the threshold of crippling a lot of business, crippling the stock market, crippling the businesses that were doing things the right way." This is ludicrous. House Republicans had very limited power in the 1990s, given their narrow majority, a more liberal Senate, and a Democrat, Bill Clinton, in the White House.

Neither these facts nor simple common sense has deterred Gephardt from promoting his charge. Last week, he produced a 32-page document that is both a mind-boggling attack on Republicans and a hymn to government regulation. Lest anyone miss the point, the document is entitled "Drive to Deregulate: GOP Congress Paved the Way for Enron and Other Corporate Misdeeds." Its assumption is that the quarter-century run of deregulation—airlines, trucking, banks, and so on—has come to an abrupt end and the public's appetite is now for more and more regulation.

What exactly did Republicans do? The document chiefly dwells on things they didn't do, but it cites two affirmative steps. Along with dozens of Democrats, they reformed securities litigation, a cash cow for trial lawyers, over Clinton's veto. This was



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

not the cause of any of the corporate corruption cases. The second thing Republicans did was play a role in deregulating the trading of energy derivatives, an Enron specialty. Of course Enron's sin was hiding debts and exaggerating earnings, which is different from trading derivatives. So the document is not a serious piece of work. It's propaganda.

Still, Democratic candidates all over the country have adopted the Gephardt argument or the softer variant of it—Republicans are too lenient on business abuses. Democrats are leading the fight for corporate accountability, says Howard Wolfson, the executive director of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee. "Democrats are on the side of investors; they are on the side of corporate malfeasance." Terry Neal in *washingtonpost.com* wrote that Wolfson believes Democrats have actually found a "magic bullet." There's one problem: Many Democrats have ties to the business community, too.

The other part of the Democratic strategy involves President Bush. Months of criticism have failed to dent his popularity. Nevertheless, Democrats are trying to make him less attractive as a rallying figure for GOP candidates. They intend to pester Bush about his sale of stock in Harken Energy in 1990 and Harken's sale of another company, Aloha. The Securities and Exchange Commission long ago cleared Bush of any wrongdoing, making it doubtful the Harken issue will have legs. But Democrats haven't much else to work with.

The corporate scandal may linger as the dominant issue, but there are several factors working against it, big ones. First, the economy is reasonably strong, growing at roughly a 4.5 percent rate in the first half of 2002. Consumers continue to buy at a furious pace. The housing market is booming. Productivity is rising at an astonishing rate. And personal income is up. Yes, the stock market has tanked, but there's no evidence of a negative wealth effect, prompting consumers to spend less.

For Bush and Republicans, the best case scenario is for a market rally in the fall. It could happen. Check out the special one-year earnings reports that America's top 1,000 corporations have been ordered to file by August 14. SEC chairman Harvey Pitt has warned corporate heads they're personally liable if the reports aren't scrupulously accurate. As a result, earnings may be down, but investor confidence will be restored. Then hundreds of billions of dollars sitting on the sidelines may return to the market and spur a rally.

There's another factor involved here. By early fall, Congress is likely to have passed a corporate responsibility bill for Bush to sign. That should ease much of the anxiety over corporate fraud. In the face of a reasonably strong economy, a market rally, and stiffer corporate regulations on the books—and no new WorldComs—the business fraud scandal is bound to fade. Except there's that Germond rule to remember. You never get what you expect. ♦

# All the Hate That's Fit to Print

## America's poison-pen Muslim press.

**BY STEPHEN SCHWARTZ**

WHEN THE SHOOTER who chose July 4 to start a gun battle at Los Angeles airport's El Al ticket counter turned out to be Hesham Mohamed Hadayet—an Egyptian native with a "Read Koran" sticker on his apartment door—many people not unreasonably wondered if he had picked up his hostility to America and Israel at an extremist mosque. No evidence of Hadayet's mosque attendance has been reported. What's gone unremarked is that he could just as easily have been incited by the steady diet of violent rhetoric served up by the American Muslim community media—periodicals with names like *The Minaret*, *Islamic Horizons*, the *Weekly Mirror International*, and the *Muslim Observer*, which toe the anti-American, anti-Israel line of Saudi Arabia's Islamofascist Wahhabi sect.

While the "mainstream" Islamic establishment—groups like the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), the American Muslim Council (AMC), and the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA)—offers perfunctory support for the anti-terror war and hovers around President Bush for photo ops in mosques, the poison pens of its media produce an unceasing stream of insult and loathing directed against America. One expects appeals to the extremist jihad to be heard in the streets of Karachi, in the canyons of Tora Bora, and from the government media of Saddam Hussein's Iraq. Some of the most strident voices, however, are here in the United States, directed not from the Middle East or South Asia, but from modern offices in Los Angeles, Chicago, and the Detroit suburbs.

These publications make no attempt to hide their attachments to international extremist groups. Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood—which preaches the classic neo-Wahhabi doctrine of the supremacy of Islam and condemnation of non-extremist Muslims as irreligious—receives support from *at-Talib* (The Student), pub-

*Stephen Schwartz is the author of the forthcoming book* The Two Faces of Islam: The House of Sa'ud from Tradition to Terror.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lished at UCLA by the Islamic Center of Southern California, and from *Islamic Horizons*, based in Plainfield, Indiana. The Jamaat-al-Islami movement, which perpetuates the same extremist mentality in Pakistan, appears to enjoy the sympathy of the *Weekly Mirror International*, based in the Greenpoint section of Brooklyn, New York, and other papers. The *Muslim Observer* publishes anyone given to an exaggerated anti-U.S. idiom, and its contributors have included Osama bin Laden. Most of these media once defended the Taliban for refusing to surrender bin Laden, and most of them equivocated on his guilt last September.

*The Minaret*, also published in Los Angeles by the Islamic Center of Southern California, is infamous for its anti-Jewish cartoons. Its May 2002 issue features a tasteful headline: "Axis of Evil: The United States, Israel, and Arab governments," adorned by a graphic of a rattlesnake. In it, editor Aslam Abdullah accuses Israel of pursuing "a policy adopted by Henry Kissinger in 1979 that called for a *final solution* of the Palestinian problem." If this is not the language of incitement, what is?

*Islamic Horizons* is the bimonthly organ of the Islamic Society of North America, which represents Wahhabi Islam in American mosques. Its last printed edition came out in September/October 2001, but it has maintained the title on its website (*www.isna.net/horizons*). The page includes the pathetic claim, "Access DENIED . . . Muslim Americans Must Demand Inclusion in the Political Process," which complains of insufficient support from George W. Bush after Muslims voted for him. The site also promotes *Silent No More: Confronting America's False Images of Islam*, a wretched book by professional Israel-basher Paul Findley, a former Republican congressman from Illinois. Findley's book came out in the summer of 2001, which did not prove a propitious moment for a work that gushes over Osama bin Laden. Findley writes, "Outsiders do not seem to recognize that bin Laden is one of the pre-eminent heroes of Afghans, occupying a role similar to the Marquis de Lafayette, a Frenchman who fought at the side of the Colonials during America's Revolutionary War."

In the April 27-May 2 issue of the Michigan-based *Muslim Observer* (*www.muslimobserver.com*), we find an article titled "Eyewitness Account of Washington March," in which a Pakistani-American proudly describes how one of his companions, a 16-year-old boy, "put on a Palestinian scarf and truly gave the tingles to the breakfast crowd, looking quite the epitome of the suicide bomber." The current website of the *Muslim Observer* offers its readers the following poll: "Our question for this week was: Do you think our country [the United States] is being manipulated by Israel?" The responses: Yes 95 percent, No 2 percent, Do not know 3 percent.

Meanwhile, in the March 27 issue of the *Weekly Mirror International* (*www.readmirror.com*), author Khalil Osman declaims, "The Bush administration has demonstrated unprecedented zeal in instituting draconian measures aimed mainly at Arabs and Muslims. . . . As more details became known, a chilling picture of a full-blooded campaign against Muslims and Arabs began to emerge." The same periodical quotes Larry Holmes —not the boxer, but an American Communist extremist and supporter of the regimes of Iraq and North Korea as well as Slobodan Milosevic. Comrade Holmes thunders against "an ongoing campaign of anti-Arab racism and anti-Muslim bigotry Bush has whipped up in the United States to complement his non-stop war policies in the Middle East." Many pious Muslims have complained about the infiltration of American mosques by Larry Holmes and his Stalinist group, on the pretext of "defending" Iraq, since they know the ideology he defends has destroyed more mosques than the Crusaders could have imagined leveling in their wildest fantasies.

It's hardly a mystery how an Egyptian limo service operator could end up as a gun-toting terrorist at LAX. His native country has long been steeped in an extremist and violent political culture. That same culture has unfortunately taken root in the Islamic "community media" in this country. The only mystery is how long it will be before our home-grown hatemongers come under closer scrutiny. ♦

Renew your subscription

. . . without licking a stamp!

Go to weekly standard.com, click on Subscribers Only and then enter our Subscribers Services department. Then simply click on Renew.

the weekly Standard



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Going for Broke

## California's budget nightmare.

**BY STEPHEN MOORE**

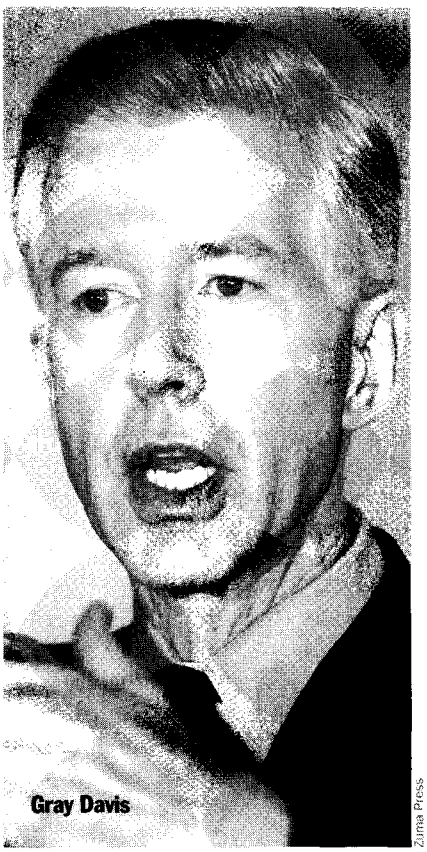
*Los Angeles*

CALIFORNIA, the sixth largest economy in the world, is in economic and fiscal freefall. It has by far the bleakest budget outlook of any of the 50 states. Deficit projections have been revised upwards every six weeks or so. The latest two-year forecast points to $24 billion in red ink, an unprecedented level of debt for the state. California's deficit is larger than the entire budget of 26 states combined.

Under Governor Gray Davis, the state budget has mushroomed by nearly 40 percent in four years. In 1999-2000, at the height of the Silicon Valley frenzy, California increased its expenditures by a staggering $9.7 billion or 13.4 percent. The 2000-01 budget leapt upward by another 14 percent. Meanwhile, the state's payroll swelled by 34,000 new employees during Davis's first 3 years in office, a larger increase than that of the next 3 biggest states combined. There were some nickel and dime tax cuts, but 75 to 80 percent of increased revenue went to new budget bloat. During Gray Davis's first four years, the budget has busted out from just under $65 billion to $100 billion.

The governor's bungling of last summer's electricity debacle also added to the state's financial miseries. The brownout crisis left Davis with two choices: Let the market's pricing mechanism ration electricity by forcing users to pay temporarily higher costs, or keep prices artificially low and throw the costs onto the backs of taxpayers. He chose the latter course and now it's time for Californians—many of whom share Davis's faith in the existence of free lunches—to pay up. They will be doing so for a long time. To cover the costs of long-term electricity contracts, the state borrowed $6 billion last year on top of a $4.3 billion bridge loan. As Davis's rotten luck would have it, he bought electric power for what is now nearly twice the market price.

Credit agencies are noticing the ocean of debt Davis has taken on.



Gray Davis

Zuma Press

Moody's has already downgraded California bond ratings twice this year. Economist and southern Californian Arthur Laffer thinks the credit agencies may downgrade again. He points to the California ballot this year, which is already crammed with populist bond initiatives: $13 billion for schools, $3 billion for water, and $2 billion for low income housing. Laffer reminds us: "California's credit rating matters—and in the context of [the state's] total debt issuance [since 1984] of $500 billion, it matters a lot."

But is all this Governor Davis's fault? His predecessor Pete Wilson was no paragon of fiscal virtue. In fact, Wilson's income tax hikes in 1991 threw the state into its last deep recession. But when Wilson left office, the state enjoyed a plump $12 billion, two-year budget surplus. However, California's Democratic party, which controls almost everything that is politically determined in the state, shares much of the blame.

For example, the state legislature, which is almost two-thirds Democratic, has failed to conform to the federal welfare act, which required a five-year limit on welfare benefits. For all intents and purposes, California still offers a lifetime on the dole. Along with New York, it has the most lenient work-for-welfare program in the country. These policies cost at least $1 billion a year. They also explain why California has been one of the least successful states at reducing its welfare caseload.

Another reason California's financial ship is sinking is taxes, which have been raised on so many occasions over the past decade that Californians now pay a larger share of their incomes in taxes today than they did before the passage of the historic tax-slashing Proposition 13 in 1978. "If taxes and outlays had only risen as fast as inflation and population growth since 1990," according to state senator and GOP candidate for state controller Tom McClintock, "the average California family would be paying some $4,000 less per year in state-local taxes today."

Seemingly oblivious to these unpleasant realities, State Senate majority leader John Burton wants to balance the budget by raising the top income tax rate from 9.5 to 11 percent. California already has one of the five highest tax rates in the nation. Under Burton's proposal, it would

*Stephen Moore is president of the Club for Growth and a senior fellow at the Cato Institute.*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

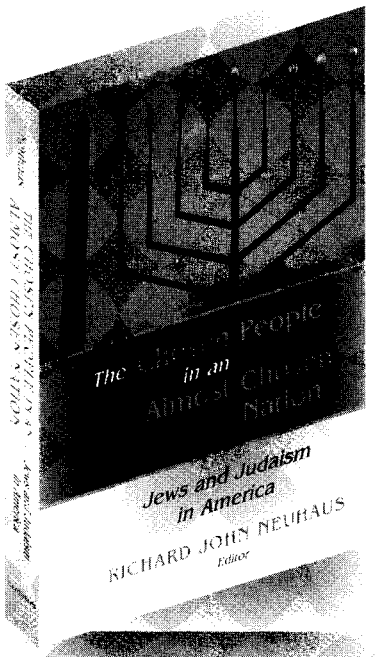
move to number one. In the early '90s, Pete Wilson, with the help of Democrats, tried this same tax-the-rich scheme. The state actually lost revenue.

Davis is at least savvy enough to realize this proposal is economic and electoral poison. In fact, Davis is campaigning as a taxophobic Reaganite. "Let me just say this," he declared during his State of the State address back in March. "I want to give you every assurance that taxes will not be increased. That is my strong belief. I do not want to. I'll do everything I can to resist the need to raise taxes." Problem is, practically no one believes him.

The alternatives to raising taxes are either a multi-billion-dollar federal bailout or massive budget cuts. Alas, neither Davis nor the Democratic legislature will ever do the latter. The State Senate rejected even the modest spending cuts that Davis proposed last spring. Davis may glide through to November, without major tax hikes, by raiding billions of dollars from retirement trust funds. But many analysts are predicting that next year Davis will propose the largest state tax increase in history.

Hiking taxes will only further the stampede of wealth producers out of California and leave behind the middle class and the most vulnerable populations to carry the load. The California State Department of Finance reports that tax collections from the wealthy have already collapsed. Capital gains tax receipts are down by 65 percent since 1999. This year income tax receipts are running 30 to 40 percent below last year's collections, which is a level of dehydration rarely seen.

Soak the rich schemes are doomed to failure in California because too much tax burden is already loaded onto the backs of the state's entrepreneurs and wealth creators. The wealthiest 5 percent of Californians pay 7 of every 10 dollars of the state's personal income taxes. It appears the weight is too heavy even for many Lexus liberals. The wealthy are fleeing to capital-friendly places like Reno, Denver, and Boise. U-Haul and other moving companies report that for the first time in ages, more native-born Americans are fleeing the Golden State than coming in. California is becoming a case study of George Gilder's famous maxim: "High tax rates don't redistribute income; they redistribute people." The taxpayers are leaving. The tax eaters are arriving in droves. It's not a pretty picture. ♦


The
Chosen People
in an
Almost Chosen
Nation
*Jews and Judaism in America*

EDITED BY
RICHARD JOHN NEUHAUS

Culled from the pages of the journal *First Things*, the essays and commentaries gathered here take up the broad array of viewpoints, questions, and disputes that comprise the story of Judaism in America. Philosophy, law, psychology, history, anti-Semitism, proselytism, intermarriage, public policy, the State of Israel, and whether Christians can be trusted — these and other subjects are addressed in lively, diverse, and frequently provocative ways.

CONTRIBUTORS

Elliot Abrams, Hadley Arkes, Matthew Berke, Midge Decter, Marc Gellman, Milton Himmelfarb, Clifford E. Librach, Stephen Miller, Alan L. Mittleman, Richard John Neuhaus, David Novak, Jakob J. Petuchowski, Isaac C. Rottenberg, Jonathan D. Sarna, Edward S. Shapiro, David Singer, Marc D. Stern, Aaron Wildavsky, Ruth R. Wisse, and Nicholas Wolfson.

ISBN 0-8028-4929-6 • 230 pages • paperback • $24.00

At your bookstore,
or call 800-253-7521
www.eerdmans.com

2063 Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co.
255 Jefferson Ave. S.E. / Grand Rapids, MI 49503




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

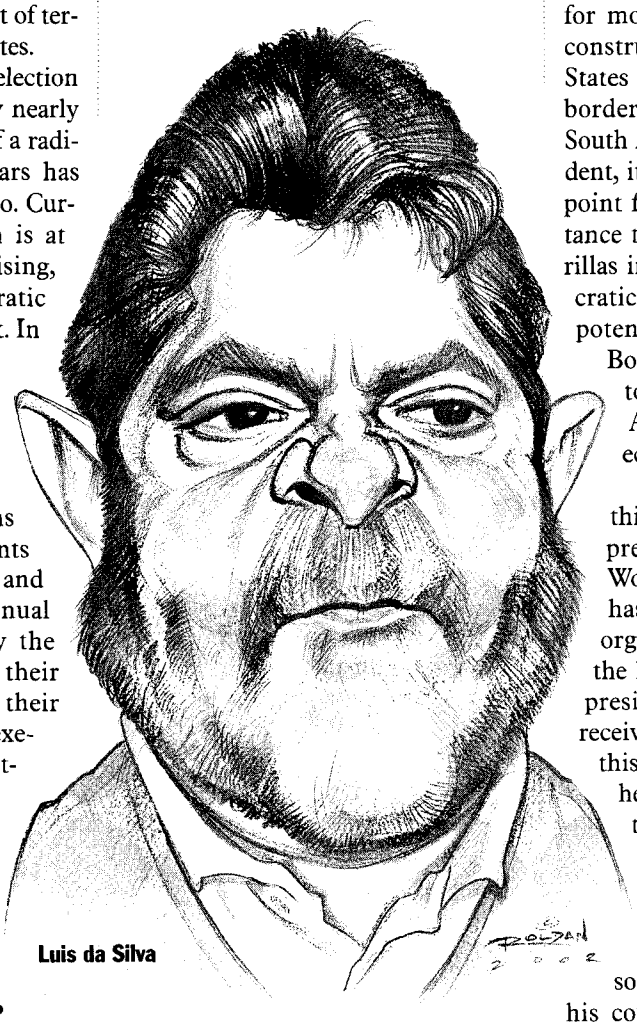
# Brazil's Nut

## The upcoming election bodes well for a Castro wannabe. BY CONSTANTINE C. MENGES

IN OCTOBER 2002, a political event is likely to occur that will be a major setback for freedom. If it happens—and it could still be prevented—it may cause as many as 300 million people in several countries to fall under the control of anti-American dictatorships. It could also increase dramatically the threat of terrorist attacks in the United States.

This avoidable event is the election to the presidency of a country nearly as large as the United States of a radical politician who for 30 years has been a close ally of Fidel Castro. Currently, this radical politician is at 40 percent in the polls and rising, while his closest pro-democratic opponent is at about 20 percent. In 1990, this presidential candidate co-founded with Castro the Forum of Sao Paulo, which every year since has convened Communist and other terrorist organizations and radical political movements from Latin America, Europe, and the Middle East. These annual meetings have been used by the participants to coordinate their plans for taking power in their respective countries and for executing actions against the United States.

The country that might be governed by this democratically elected radical has a population of about 180 million. Vast and richly endowed, it has the world's eighth-largest economy (GDP $1.2 trillion in 2001), with many advanced sectors, including aerospace and military production. From 1965 to at least 1979, this country had an active program to develop nuclear weapons; according to a congressional investigation in that country, the program continued after 1990 even though a democratically elected president had exposed the secret plan of the military to build an atomic bomb and had publicly closed a nuclear test site. That investigation also revealed that elements of the military had secretly exported 8 tons of uranium to Iraq in 1981.



Luis da Silva

Illustration by Ismael Roldan

The radical presidential candidate has said his country should have nuclear weapons and should move closer to Communist China, which has actively courted elements of the military and has made investments in the aerospace industry, resulting in, among other things, a jointly operated imagery satellite. It is also reported that a leading air force general from this country led a group of more than 20 missile scientists who went to work for Saddam Hussein after a democratic president canceled their successful ballistic missile program in 1990.

The country that could come under the rule of this pro-Castro radical is Brazil, which, as a democracy for more than 20 years, has been a constructive partner of the United States and other democracies. Brazil borders almost every country in South America. Under a radical president, it would very likely be the focal point for political and military assistance to the Communist narco-guerrillas in Colombia and to anti-democratic groups seeking to overturn potentially fragile democracies in Bolivia, Ecuador, and Peru—not to mention neighboring Argentina, already in the grip of economic crisis.

The man who may bring all this about is Luis Inacio da Silva, presidential candidate of the Workers' party. Now 56, da Silva has been active in far left labor organizations and politics since the 1970s. He narrowly lost his first presidential bid in 1989, when he received 47 percent of the vote. With this fourth run for the presidency, he seems on the threshold of victory.

For decades, da Silva has blamed democracy, market-oriented institutions, and the United States for all the social and economic problems of his country and of Latin America. The Workers' party has long opposed the involvement of Brazil with international financial institutions and international borrowing and has argued that Brazil should suspend payment on its large foreign debt. Perhaps that is why Morgan Stanley

*Constantine C. Menges, a senior fellow at the Hudson Institute, formerly served as special assistant to the president for national security affairs.*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

recently lowered Brazil's debt rating. Now, da Silva, as part of the moderate disguise he wears for campaign purposes, says he favors paying on some of Brazil's international debt, but he's been known to call international lenders seeking repayment "economic terrorists" and to label Bush's Free Trade Area of the Americas "a U.S.A. annexation project."

On many occasions, da Silva has said publicly that he is a friend of Venezuela's president Hugo Chavez, whom he has praised as "an example to emulate" if he were elected president. This would mean, first, the use of pseudo-electoral processes and referenda to consolidate his rule as a dictator; second, the dispatching of aid to radical organizations attacking neighboring governments; and third, expansion of ties including military relationships with Cuba, Iraq, Iran, and Communist China.

Da Silva's Workers' party has controlled one state in Brazil, Rio Grande do Sul, since 2000. There the school textbooks are Marxist-Leninist, institutions are politicized and radical, and the local Workers' party bosses are reportedly financed by illegal gambling syndicates. Da Silva points to Rio Grande do Sul as a "showcase," and indeed it offers a preview of the tragedy awaiting all of Brazil if he and his party win the presidency.

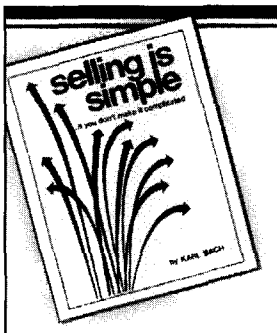
U.S. Treasury secretary Paul O'Neill recently drew attention to the economic risks inherent in Brazil's more than $250 billion dollar international debt and caused great concern in the financial community when he said that "throwing the U.S. taxpayer's money at a political uncertainty in Brazil doesn't seem brilliant to me. . . . The situation there is driven by politics, . . . not . . . by economic conditions." A da Silva presidency would likely mean Brazil's default on its debts, which, combined with the crisis in Argentina, could cause immense economic problems in all of Latin America. But worse than the economic downturn would be the effect on the Brazilian people of a radical regime moving toward dictatorship and the risk of destabilization in the region from a Castro-da Silva-Chavez axis.

A da Silva regime in Brazil could soon be followed by the success of the Communist guerrillas in Colombia and the establishment of anti-American regimes in Bolivia, Peru, and Ecuador (where in January 2000 radicals toppled the government in a few days, with help from military officers recruited by Chavez, though their success was short-lived). Thus, by the end of 2003, the United States might be faced with anti-American regimes in most of South America.

If those regimes recruited only one tenth of one percent of military-aged males for terrorist attacks on the United States, this could mean 30,000 terrorists coming from the south. In addition, many Middle Eastern terrorist organizations, including the PLO, have long collaborated with Castro against the United States and its allies; they and the Iranian-backed terrorists of Hezbollah have hidden among the sizable Middle Eastern communities in Brazil and Venezuela.

Already Chavez is probably contributing millions, if not tens of millions, of dollars covertly to da Silva out of the estimated $70 billion in oil revenues that Venezuela has obtained since he became president. It is virtually certain that Castro is committing hundreds, perhaps thousands, of his skilled political and intelligence operatives to help da Silva win, and thereby achieve one of Castro's highest strategic priorities.

What can be done? The United States and other democracies should give immediate and serious attention to Brazil. The democratic parties of Brazil and the democracies of the hemisphere should see to it that an honest, competent, effective, pro-democratic unity candidate has the means to compete in October's election against this radical threat. ♦


*The most important book about salesmanship ever written ...*

**Selling is Simple...**

**by Karl Bach only $19.95***

**But read this ad for an even better deal!*

Karl Bach was a penniless and uneducated German-Jewish immigrant. He spoke very little English and, to top it off, he had a physical impediment. Not being able to get any other job, he enlisted as a Fuller Brush salesman. Within two months, he became the most productive salesman Fuller had ever had. From a standing start, he had developed irresistible sales techniques. He applied those methods and insights to the life insurance business. Within three years, he became one of the most successful life insurance producers in the US. He founded and became principal owner of the San Francisco Life Insurance Company, which eventually merged with the Philadelphia Life Insurance Company. He became a very, very wealthy man. In this book, Karl reveals his enormously successful salesmanship methods.

If you are in any area of selling, you should be able to at least quadruple your performance by reading this groundbreaking book and following its precepts. There is no reason why you shouldn't be as successful as Karl Bach -- you have so much more going for yourself than he did. We are the publishers of this book and can offer it for only **$19.95**. ***But we have an even better deal:** ***Buy two books for $39.90 and we will send you a third one, with our compliments -- absolutely*** **FREE!** If you are in any area of sales and want to multiply your performance and your income, you owe it to yourself to buy this book. You and your family will be glad you did. Order it today!

Order directly from the publisher by toll-free phone (800) 600-2777, by fax (415) 356-7804, or by mail. Mention order code **1094Y365** and give Visa/MC # and expiration date, or send check for $19.95. Add $4.95 shipping/insurance, plus sales tax for CA delivery. 30 days refund/return, except for shipping/insurance.

**advance books**
**division of jomira/advance**
**470 Third St., #211, San Francisco, CA 94107**

*Order by toll-free phone: (800) 600-2777 or (fastest!) by fax: (415) 356-7804*
*Visit our website at www.haverhills.com*




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Big Business's Bad Behavior

*How (and how not) to stop it*

**By Irwin M. Stelzer**

No sensible person can quarrel with what the president told the Wall Street biggies he addressed last week. Crooks should be forced to disgorge their ill-gotten gains, and should go to jail for extended periods. Enforcement agencies should be given adequate resources. Corporate executives should be held responsible for the accuracy of what they tell shareholders, disclose their compensation in annual reports "prominently and in plain English," and explain why their "compensation package is in the best interest of the company." Board members should be independent and "ask tough questions." Shareholders should speak up. Most important, chief executive officers should create a "moral tone" that ensures the company's top managers behave in accordance with the highest ethical standards.

The quarrel comes not with what the president said, but with what he didn't say. In the game of matching his laundry list of reforms against the inevitably longer list generated by the Daschle-Leahy-Sarbanes-Gephardt crowd, the president inevitably loses, as last week's unanimous vote of Senate Republicans for the Democrats' bill proves. Longer sounds better if you're just compiling a laundry list of items aimed at punishing politically unpopular corporate bad guys. Only if there is a conceptual framework within which specific reforms can be created and defended is there any hope that a sensible corporate governance system will emerge from the congressional legislation factory.

Start with the fact that it is important to distinguish the role of government from that of the private-sector institutions that monitor corporate America. The latter can be relied upon to act when the integrity of the system is threatened, not because these private sector players are a bunch of goodie-two-shoes, but for the more reliable reason that honest markets and accurate profit reporting are in their interest. Just as gamblers won't put their bets down when they know a wheel to be rigged, so investors won't put their money into shares if prices can be manipulated by inflated profit reporting or special treatment of insiders.

Hence we have a stream of quite sensible reforms proposed by the Business Roundtable and the New York Stock Exchange, some going beyond those being pushed by the president. And we have companies scrambling to adopt governance rules and accounting practices that will reassure investors that the game is not rigged against them. No CEO wants to see his company's stock battered by investors who fear that share values will evaporate as profits are restated to eliminate the imaginative counting of revenues (claim them now, before the customer pays or even considers paying) and of costs (capitalize rather than expense every outlay, regardless of the life of the item purchased). Plummeting share prices are dangerous to the careers of chief executives.

But, as the president recognized when he called for higher ethical standards, self-interest cannot be relied upon to produce honest business dealings unless that self-interest includes what Adam Smith called a "desire to be both respected and respectable," and such esteem is seen to flow not from "wealth and greatness" but from "wisdom and virtue." Which may be what Bush had in mind when he said that we need "men and women of character, who know the difference between ambition and destructive greed" to lead our major corporations. And it may be what he had in mind when, immediately after delivering his talk, he returned to Washington to award the Presidential Medal of Freedom—America's highest civilian honor—not to the nation's richest (Intel founder Gordon Moore may have been the one exception), but instead to folks who have enriched our national life with their sharp iconoclasm (Irving Kristol), gentle humor (Bill Cosby), and quiet devotion to family and good causes (Nancy Reagan).

---

*Irwin M. Stelzer is a contributing editor to* The Weekly Standard, *director of regulatory studies at the Hudson Institute, and a columnist for the* Sunday Times *(London).*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Still, neither self-interested reform nor a new emphasis on business ethics can be relied upon to save capitalism from the capitalists. Immediately after the president's speech the White House was bombarded with calls from CEOs protesting his demand that they disclose their compensation packages in easily accessible terms. I well recall the reaction when, several years ago, I made a similar suggestion at a think-tank-sponsored meeting of top business and government officials. One captain of industry replied that he would not tell his shareholders how much he earns lest he encourage kidnappers (as if they would only become aware of his affluence if he revealed it in his company's annual report).

Nor did anything the president said persuade the accountants to call off their lobbyists, who continue to oppose reforms that would make their devotion to the accuracy of their audit statements unambivalent. Or convince CEOs of Silicon Valley and other high-tech companies to bow to Alan Greenspan's call for them to report their share options as the expenses they most certainly are. Again, I recall a discussion that followed a similar proposal I made several years ago. One CEO said that he couldn't place a value on these options for purposes of reporting to shareholders, even though he could value those same options for the purpose of deducting their cost from his profits for tax purposes. Another claimed that if he treated options as an expense, he would wipe out his entire reported earnings, an argument, I suppose, for refusing to account for almost any expense that constitutes a threat to reported profits—what might be called the WorldCom excuse. (For the economy as a whole, experts estimate that expensing of options would reduce aggregate corporate profits by about 8 percent.) Note that the issue is not whether companies, especially start-ups, should be allowed to use options to attract talented staff, but whether they should have to treat this compensation as an expense when reporting profits. As Greenspan points out, refusing to deduct the cost of options diverts capital and other resources from truly profitable to only apparently profitable firms.

This opposition of important segments of the business and accounting communities to reform means that government must take on the burden of revising the institutional framework within which business operates—setting the rules of the game that will allow markets to do their job of allocating human and financial capital to its highest and best uses. As Milton Friedman, no fan of big government, has written, society needs rules and an umpire "to enforce compliance with rules on the part of those few who would otherwise not play the game."

Peter Steiner

To keep rules to a Friedman-esque minimum, we need a conceptual framework for reform rather than competing laundry lists. The first step is to understand the limits of criminal sanctions. Yes, it makes sense for the Senate to insist, as it did unanimously last week, that the crimes perpetrated by some corporate managers and accountants be defined as precisely as possible. Yes, criminal sanctions can be used to make life miserable for those caught with their fingers in the till and to deter from evildoing those for whom Adam Smith's "desire to be respectable and to be respected" is insufficient inducement to decent behavior. But, as law professors David Skeel and William Stuntz recently pointed out in the *New York Times*, "Criminal laws lead people to focus on what is legal instead of what is right. . . . In today's world, executives are more likely to ask what they can get away with legally than what's fair and honest." The Senate was pleased with itself for toughening the laws under which executives will operate, but



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

criminalizing bad behavior is no guarantee of future good behavior—behavior that is not merely indictment-avoiding, but is efficiency- and wealth-enhancing.

Instead, policymakers should turn to that trusty guideline, "Get the incentives right." The problems we are facing stem from the fact that we have provided the four guardians of shareholder interests—auditors, analysts, directors, and corporate managers—with the wrong incentives.

* *Auditors* know that success or failure in their profession depends not so much on the accuracy and realism of their audits, as on their ability to conduct themselves so as not to imperil the flow of consulting fees to their firms. Enron paid Arthur Andersen as much or more in consulting than in auditing fees; Andersen's $12 million in consulting fees from WorldCom dwarfed its $4 million audit fee. It would have taken a brave auditor indeed to fly in the face of these clear incentives and tell Enron's management that placing some item off-balance-sheet might be technically legal, but would obscure the company's true financial condition, or to insist on access to documents that might have revealed WorldCom's recording of current expenses as capital investments. Rather than rely on such strength of character, some 70 percent of the directors surveyed by McKinsey & Co. now say they will in the future oppose the granting of such contracts, a policy that Arthur Levitt, Bill Clinton's SEC chairman, was unable to push through over the massed opposition of the accountants' lobbyists. All of which makes Bush's silence on this subject rather odd, and the Senate Democrats' insistence on a broader prohibition on consulting than is contained in the House Republicans' bill more likely to get the auditors' incentives lined up with shareholder interests.

*Policymakers should turn to that trusty guideline, "get the incentives right." Then the other regulations become unnecessary.*

Once those incentives are in place, other provisions of the House and Senate bills become unnecessary. Both bills call for still more regulation of auditors, and create still another regulatory body to set and oversee accounting standards. One need not be an apologist for the accounting profession to suggest that such a move would merely continue the failed practice of attempting to control auditors by closely supervising them. There is no reason to believe that such supervision will be any more successful in the future than it has been in the past, especially since in the end auditors are required only to say that they followed often complex and arcane rules that necessarily involve the exercise of judgment.

Instead of such ongoing regulation, including half measures that merely restrict auditors from engaging in some specified form of consulting activity, let's get the incentives right by complete, mandated separation of the audit and consulting businesses, as John McCain proposes. Lead the CPAs not into temptation, and reliance on porous Chinese walls becomes unnecessary. Auditors will compete for business on the basis of their ability to provide a product that gives investors confidence in the transparency and accuracy of the company accounts, with the uplifting effect that will have on the prices of their clients' shares. (Audit firms are unlikely to compete on price, since the risks associated with the audit business have risen. There are only four major firms, and rotation of auditors on something like the five-year basis favored by Senate Democrats, although necessary to prevent over-identification between client and auditor, is a classic cartel market-sharing arrangement—all legal, in this case.)

* *Analysts* are another group who now face perverse incentives. Investors may have been naive to believe that these students of income statements, balance sheets, and other economic data would provide honest advice about a company's financial condition and prospects. But they had a right to such a belief, since the commissions they pay their brokers are supposed to be in return for such advice. Along comes New York State Attorney General Eliot Spitzer and revelations that some of these supposed agents of the shareholders' interests are recommending stocks they know to be "shitty" in order to win investment banking business for their partners and increased compensation for themselves. All of this in the presence of Chinese walls erected to separate bankers from analysts. It took no Joshua-plus-trumpet to bring these walls down; the prospect of hefty banking fees was quite enough. Jack Grubman, the Salomon Smith Barney (a division of Citigroup) analyst famous for his enthusiastic recommendations of WorldCom stock, last week told the House Financial Services Committee, "No one can sit here on Wall Street and deny to anybody on this committee that banking is not a consideration in the compensation of analysts of a full-service firm." Forget the double negative: Grubman was conceding that part of his salary, which reached $20 million per year, came from the $140 million in underwriting fees that his firm received from WorldCom over the past five years.

Again, get the incentives right. One way, now preferred on Wall Street, is to write contracts that make analysts' compensation independent of the fees flowing into the investment banking divisions of the large firms. But



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

just how analysts can prosper if the banking division isn't earning enough to pay the rent is unclear. Besides, unless analysts suddenly become willing to issue "sell" recommendations just when their investment banking partners are pitching a company for business, this proposed reform is unlikely to be effective, especially after the current heat is off and congressional attention turns to other matters. True or not, bankers believe that CEOs, being human (yes, most are), are likely to take into account what a firm's analysts are saying about their stock when selecting an investment banker. It would be an unusual CEO, indeed, who would cheerfully receive an investment banker after reading in the morning papers that the banker's analyst-partner had just downgraded his company's stock from a "buy" to a "sell." Many investment bankers—not all, but many—will find ways to persuade their partner-analysts to be team players. Banking fees are large enough to give them an enormous incentive to do just that.

So, let's get the incentives right and mandate a separation of the investment banking and stock-picking businesses, another McCain proposal. Analysts would then have an unambiguous incentive to make the best "buy" and "sell" recommendations they possibly can, so as to build reputations that will attract investors to them. And investors will get something in return for their commission dollars—honest advice from men and women expert in the analysis of corporate financial data, competing with one another to attract clients by creating a track record of picking winners.

Peter Steiner

* Which brings us to *directors*. Again, we have a case of skewed incentives. Directors are hired by managers to protect shareholders from, er, those same managers. To make sure the directors remain friendly, executives often shower them with perks and consulting fees, the continuation of which depend on the goodwill of the CEOs they are supposed to be supervising. It is the rare director who chooses to feast on the hand that feeds him, not merely because he is venal, but because the courtesies lavished upon him genuinely persuade him that the CEO is a decent chap, deserving of every million he is paid.

To get the incentives right, directors must be selected by vigorously participating shareholders, most especially institutional shareholders, from a slate of demonstrably independent people who, although well compensated, have reputations worth protecting. Nominations for that slate should come from sources other than the company management, to avoid a you-sit-on-my-compensation-committee-and-I'll-sit-on-yours selection process. The directors should not accept anything within the gift of the CEO; their directors' fees should be compensation enough, and high enough to provide an incentive to accumulate a record that will persuade shareholders to reelect them at reasonably regular periodic intervals—perhaps throwing in term limits to make sure that directors and management don't develop too cozy a relationship.

* Finally, we come to the *CEOs and top managers*. How to create incentives to induce managers to act in the interests of the shareholders who own the business has bedeviled students of corporate governance ever since 1932, when Adolph A. Berle Jr. and Gardiner C. Means published their classic *The Modern Corporation and Private Property*, detailing the potential for managerial abuse created by the separation of ownership from control of large corporations. Managers placing self-interest above the interests of owners were immune to retaliation by far-



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

flung and essentially powerless shareholders. That situation was partially corrected when Mike Milken and his debt-financed corporate raiders snatched control of many companies from the worst abusers of shareholders' interests, grounded fleets of corporate jets, sold off hunting lodges, and generally sweated the fat out of expenses—a wonderful example of markets working to correct abuses that seemed beyond the reach of regulators.

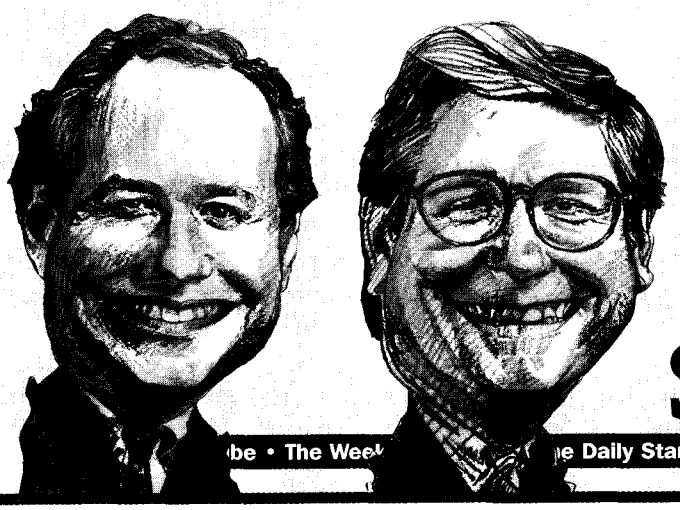
But nowadays there aren't many people who want to be like Mike, so it is incumbent on policymakers to get managers' incentives right. President Bush's proposal for publication of compensation arrangements in an accessible format would be a step in the right direction, its effectiveness attested to by the howls of outrage it produced from some CEOs. Truly independent boards, created along the lines described above, would be another advance, since compensation committees not beholden to corporate managements are more likely to relate pay to performance than the supine committees that now exist on some boards. Add in the requirement that options be treated as profit-reducing expenses—another McCain proposal that so horrified senators that it has for now been derailed—and you will have a new parsimony that will keep salaries to levels commensurate with effort and performance. Under such a regime, executives would have a clear incentive to spend their time creating efficiencies and new markets, rather than figuring out how to cash in options, and how to persuade their boards to revalue options if poor company performance has driven the stock price below the price at which the options may be exercised, rewarding executives whether or not they have delivered long-term value for shareholders.

This may sound like an awful lot of regulation. But it is of a special, self-liquidating sort. If we adopt policies that get the incentives of all the players right, government can then get out of the way so that the various actors can do their thing—audit, advise on investments, monitor management performance in the interests of owners, and manage the company in a world in which managers' interests coincide with those of shareholders. The right kind of regulation can be a model of minimal—and effective—government. ♦


Kick Start Your Day!

Log onto weeklystandard.com for the all new Daily Standard.

Find articles written just for the Web–with the same lively opinions you've come to expect from THE WEEKLY STANDARD.



the weekly Standard

be • The Week ... e Daily Standard • Info • Search • Subscribers Only




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Genocide Fueled by Oil

*A showdown over Sudan policy pits "doing good" against "doing business"*

**By Allen Hertzke**

A potential showdown is looming in Washington that will affect the fate of a people and could define the politics of human rights for a generation. At issue: Should foreign oil companies doing business in Sudan be denied access to U.S. capital markets? Yes, asserts a coalition of religious and civil rights groups. No, says Wall Street. Fearing that a House bill containing this provision might prevail in conference over a Senate version that lacks it, opponents of capital-market sanctions, notably Texas senator Phil Gramm, have blocked the appointment of Senate conferees.

Frustrated with Senate inaction, a bipartisan group of House members wrote to Senate leaders Tom Daschle and Trent Lott urging them to stop blocking the Sudan Peace Act. Without the capital-market provision, they wrote, "the Government of Sudan will continue to pay for oil with the blood of its people." Concerned that Daschle was using Gramm's threatened filibuster to rationalize his own inaction, all 39 members of the Congressional Black Caucus signed a letter to the Democratic majority leader stating that they considered measures against Sudan comparable to "the struggle against the apartheid regime of South Africa." Activists hope this pressure from right and left will break the logjam.

The cause has indeed forged an incongruous alliance. When was the last time the Congressional Black Caucus and the Southern Baptist Convention joined forces with major Jewish organizations, Catholic and Episcopalian bishops, human rights activists, conservative evangelical groups, and national security hawks? All are backing the selective use of capital-market leverage against the militant Islamist regime in Khartoum, which has waged a brutal war against the country's religious and ethnic minorities since it seized power in 1989. The casualties are staggering: 2 million dead—more than were killed in the conflicts in Rwanda, Bosnia, and Kosovo combined—and another 4 million displaced.

The war pits the Arab Muslim north of Sudan, anchored by Khartoum, against a black African south comprising mostly tribal religionists and Christians. Parts of this vast country were Christianized as early as the sixth century; indeed, the Christian Kingdoms of Sudan fell to Arab invaders only in the sixteenth century. Though the dominant Muslims have long sought to control or assimilate non-Muslims, what's new under this Islamist regime is the attempt to eradicate the minority entirely. "If we will not change," Catholic bishop Macram Gassis laments, Khartoum "will kill us, or starve us to death, or put us in chains."

Prior to September 11 the conflict in Sudan was often deemed an African "civil war" beyond the scope of America's strategic interest. We now see that it was the front line in a global terrorist jihad. Inspired by the same ideology that built al Qaeda, the country's leaders declared a campaign to Islamicize or wipe out the country's African population in the Nuba mountains and the south. These people stand in the way of Khartoum's vision of spreading militant *sharia* throughout Africa. That brutal campaign led the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom to label Sudan the "world's most violent abuser of the right to freedom of religion and belief."

To achieve this dubious distinction, the regime sends Arab militias to attack, loot, and destroy undefended villages, killing the men and abducting the women and children into slavery. By the thousands, African slaves have been branded, beaten, given Muslim names, and forced to renounce their faith. Women and girls are raped, many become concubines, and genital mutilation is common.

By rekindling the slave trade, the government of Sudan has also fueled a racist ideology of Arab superiority.

*Allen Hertzke is professor of political science and director of religious studies at the University of Oklahoma.*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Northerners contemptuously refer to Africans as *abd* or *abid,* a word used interchangeably with slave or black. Francis Bok, a former Sudanese slave now living in Boston, recounted how he was captured when he was 7 and sold to an Arab herder, who called out the whole family to meet their new acquisition: "They all had sticks. They all beat me and laughed and called me '*Abid, abid.*'" Bok was made to sleep with the animals because, as his master told him, "You are an animal."

To subjugate the Dinkas and the tribes of the Nuba mountains Khartoum employs scorched earth policies, which create famine, then denies those areas U.N. aid. Calculated military terror, including indiscriminate bombing, has resulted in massive population displacements. Hundreds of thousands of refugees have been herded into "peace camps," where many die and others are told to convert to Islam or starve. Emaciated women have reportedly sold their babies to Muslims in the hope at least of saving the children's lives.

Though the regime kills animists and even moderate Muslims who resist its fundamentalism, it has attempted to wipe out Christianity, prompting the Committee of Conscience of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum to issue an unprecedented "genocide warning" on Sudan last year. A special exhibit on Khartoum's atrocities is still running at the museum.

*The specter of oil as the life blood of Sudan's murderous clique moved the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom to recommend delisting the oil companies there from our stock markets. This caused apoplexy among investors.*

What is driving the current push in Washington for capital-market sanctions is a simple fact: Genocide is being fueled by oil. For a while it seemed that the National Islamic Front, facing setbacks on the battlefield and isolated by U.S. sanctions, might cease its jihad. But oil production began in 1999, giving new life to the regime by filling its coffers with cash to buy weapons and increasing its influence in the region. Much of the oil lies in the south, leading the government to "cleanse" the population surrounding the fields. Foreign companies producing the oil have largely acquiesced in this policy and in some cases actively supported it. Thus, an offensive last October in Ruweng County displaced an estimated 80,000 people, who fled scurrying for food and shelter. Shortly thereafter the Greater Nile Petroleum Operating Company, a consortium of foreign oil firms, moved in to begin drilling.

Religious and ethnic cleansing continued this year, despite attempts by U.S. Special Envoy John Danforth to broker cease-fire agreements. As recently as May 5, an assault by Khartoum's military devastated the oil region of Eastern Upper Nile. Traveling through the ruined villages, Dennis Bennett of the relief organization Servant's Heart declared that a community of some 15,000-20,000 people "now ceases to exist." Their homes looted and burned, refugees "fled with nothing but the clothes on their backs."

The specter of oil as the life blood of Sudan's murderous clique moved the bipartisan U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom in 2001 to recommend denying capital-market access for oil companies doing business there. The idea was bold but plausible: Check Khartoum's aggression by restricting dollars for its oil development. The chairman of the commission at the time, Elliott Abrams, made the case for the policy in these pages shortly before assuming a top post in Bush's National Security Council. The idea was picked up by Rep. Spencer Bachus, a Republican from Alabama, who attached it as an amendment to the Sudan Peace Act. The bill passed the House by a vote of 422-2 last summer.

This caused apoplexy among investors. Alan Greenspan testified against the Bachus amendment, and the big guns on Wall Street weighed in. One lobbyist for Goldman Sachs said that every PAC dollar coming out of Wall Street would have "Bachus written all over it." The odd thing about this vehemence is that American companies are already prohibited from doing business in Sudan because of sanctions against the regime for its sponsorship of terrorism. The Bachus amendment merely extends the ban to foreigners. As the House members wrote in their letter, "Why do we allow foreign companies that obtain Sudanese oil to trade on our capital markets when American companies are prohibited from doing so?"

Opponents of Bachus fear a slippery slope, that there would be no end to de-listing companies from the stock market that putatively finance human rights violators. But advocates respond that extraordinary circumstances demand exceptions. As Republican congressman Chris Smith put it, "I'm a free market guy," but "when it comes to a country that has killed 2 million people," sanctions are justified. Remarkably, the Bush administration's point man on the issue, Walter Kansteiner, denies that Sudan's case rises to that level of severity.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Another key argument against Bachus is that cutting access to U.S. capital markets would be ineffective because it would just drive companies elsewhere. But James Buckee, CEO of Talisman Energy of Canada, one of the key petroleum producers in Sudan, said his company would pull out rather than risk losing access to American stock exchanges. In other words, Bachus might just work. As commission chairman Michael Young testified before the House International Relations Committee in June, the "only way to get Khartoum's attention is to curtail its oil revenues."

It was probably this threat that induced Khartoum grudgingly to agree to participate in peace talks under the aegis of special envoy Danforth. The real loss of oil revenue could pressure the regime to halt its predations. The alternative is pretty clear. After its cynical "cooperation" in the hunt for terrorists earned fulsome praise from our State Department last fall, the regime reaffirmed its internal jihad, continued slave raids, attacked U.N. relief planes attempting to deliver food to starving people, and burned down villages near oil fields. Evidence suggests that it continues to harbor and finance terrorists.

This saga of ongoing contempt is what makes the outcome in Sudan momentous for the broader cause of human rights. If Sudan's well-documented record does not merit the selective use of American economic power, then the message is clear: There is no circumstance so horrific that it will be allowed to disrupt the flow of capital. Markets are sacrosanct.

So what will finally spur the Senate to action? Certainly not exposure of Sudanese atrocities in the mainstream media, which have barely covered the genocide. Certainly not the feckless Europeans or our State Department.

Instead, the energy behind this effort derives from the growing international engagement of evangelical Christians. Galvanized initially by the suffering of fellow believers abroad, evangelicals have emerged as the vanguard of a new movement for more assertive American leadership on behalf of human rights. From the International Religious Freedom Act of 1998 to the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000, evangelical leaders have won significant victories by mobilizing church networks that political scientist Robert Putnam has called the "largest" and "best organized" grass-roots system in the country.

Consider: On the same day that the House passed capital-market sanctions against Sudan, delegates of the 15 million member Southern Baptist Convention passed a resolution condemning Khartoum and calling for direct aid to the victims. Joining the SBC in the cause are Charles Colson, whose Prison Fellowship Ministries operates in some 80 countries, and Franklin Graham, whose clinics and schools in Sudan have been bombed. Graham represents a growing number of American religious leaders who run programs in Sudan or travel there to bring relief supplies outside of Khartoum's manipulation.

This mobilization of religious Americans reaches the supposedly isolationist heartland. Midland, Texas, for example, is not only home to the Bushes but also ground zero in the public awareness campaign against genocide in Sudan. Last fall local promoters organized a rally in conjunction with "Rock the Desert," a Christian music festival that drew more than 30,000 youths to Midland. One of the featured artists was the Hollywood recording artist and gospel songwriter Ken Tamplin, who produced a CD dedicated to the Sudan cause.

Midland also hosted the "national service" of the International Day of Prayer for the Persecuted Church last November (and will do so again this year), with some 40 congregations participating. Baroness Carolyn Cox of Christian Solidarity Worldwide spoke at First Presbyterian Church of the fidelity of Sudanese Christians in the face of atrocious suffering. Down the street at First Baptist Church, Kevin Turner of Strategic World Impact recounted touring devastated villages where buzzards feasted on human flesh, and dodging air attacks for days with his fleeing Sudanese brethren. The local Catholic church, meanwhile, hosted a presentation on the work of Bishop Gassis among the Nuba people, who face extinction. Ex-slave Francis Bok was featured at a local Hispanic church.

Also participating in the Midland event were a group of independent oil producers—conjuring up the prospect that Texas oilmen, in a different kind of Christian discipleship, might lobby Senator Gramm to release his hold on the Sudan Peace Act.

The showdown on Sudan thus points toward a growing foreign policy divide in the Republican party—and in the Bush administration—between religious moralists and market purists. The president accuses Sudan of "crimes so monstrous that the American conscience had to assert itself," but his economic advisers vehemently oppose acting on that conviction.

Clearly, standing against genocide carries a cost. Alan Greenspan says so. Goldman Sachs says so. The State Department says so. That is why the judgment on Sudan could define the politics of human rights for a generation. Despots hope, and dissidents fear, that in the end business values or pinched calculations of realpolitik will prevail in American foreign policy. But this isn't foreordained. By enacting capital-market sanctions against Sudan, our leaders can show the world that Americans are still willing to pay a price to advance the cause of human dignity. ♦

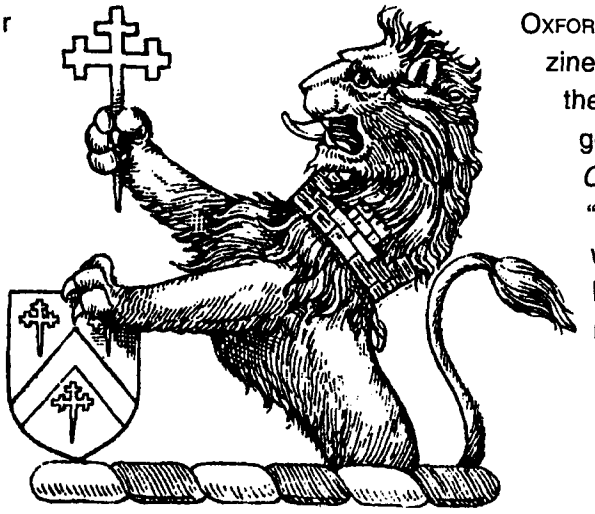


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Are You Suffering From a CATHOLIC Power Shortage In Your Diocese or Parish?

You're not alone! But there's help on the way. We at the NEW OXFORD REVIEW have plenty of power. Plug in to us, and you'll remember what it can mean to be a Catholic. You'll be energized, rejuvenated!

We don't pussyfoot around. You won't hear from us about how all religions are the same and it doesn't matter whom or what you have faith in or how you behave, so long as you're "sincere" and "nice." That's not the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and you *know* it!



You've heard, time after time, that Jesus is the Lamb of God. "Sweet Jesus, meek and mild." The Lamb metaphor has its place, but in this day and age it very much needs to be augmented by the metaphor of Christ the Lion. After all, Jesus was a burly carpenter, not a fey hairdresser, which He is in danger of being thought of these days.

When we see Christ again, He will come, not as a lamb, but as a powerful lion, manifesting His glory and judging the world.

Revelation 5:5 says: "Weep not; lo, the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David, has conquered...." Weep not! Yes, we live in a time — and will for the foreseeable future — when loyal Catholics mourn for their Church, even for their own diocese or parish or both. But neither sorrow nor gloom nor darkness will have the last word. Christ *will* triumph — yea, not least in His Church.

Behold the light and power of authentic Catholic teaching by subscribing to the NEW OXFORD REVIEW. A monthly magazine founded in 1977, we're on the cutting edge of the resurgence of Catholic orthodoxy. *Crisis* magazine says we're "lively," *Library Journal* says we're "brilliant," and Cardinal Law says we're "a sign of new life" in the Church. We cover all the issues of concern to today's loyal Catholic, and we do so with wit, pep, and pizzaz. We're "Catholicism's intellectual prizefighter," according to Karl Keating.

If you want to recapture the excitement of when you first really believed, if you despair of all the moral laxity and doubt and dissent within the Church but seek a remedy for that despair, or if you're searching for a "face" of Catholicism that's spiritually vibrant, socially concerned, solidly prolife, and doctrinally sound, check us out! We'll light up your Catholic life.

(Please allow 2 to 8 weeks for delivery of first issue.)

## SPECIAL DISCOUNT RATES FOR FIRST-TIME SUBSCRIBERS

- ☐ One-year subscription ..... $14 (regularly $19)
- ☐ One-year student, unemployed, or retired person's subscription ..... $12 (regularly $16)
- ☐ Two-year subscription ..... $23 (regularly $35)
- ☐ One-year non-U.S. subscription ..... US$24 (regularly $29) Payment must be drawn in U.S. Dollars.
- ☐ Sample copy ..... $3.50

➔ Our prices are *so low* because you can't pay by credit card and payment must accompany order. Send letter or this coupon with check payable to NEW OXFORD REVIEW.

Name (Please print or type)

Street Address or P.O. Box

City State Zip

Mail to:

NEW OXFORD REVIEW
Room 724
1069 Kains Ave.
Berkeley CA 94706

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Las Norias Raid: Texas Rangers with dead bandits in 1915. Courtesy the Library of Congress.

# Lone Rangers

## *When Texas was really Texas*

By Bill Croke

There's a moment in Larry McMurtry's novel *Lonesome Dove* when the retired Texas Rangers Woodrow Call and Augustus McRae—now in the cattle business—pass a new farm settlement with a church and a few stores. "Now look at that," Augustus says. "The dern people are making towns everywhere. It's our fault, you know. . . . Me and you done our work too well. We killed off most of the people that made this country interesting to begin with."

Robert Utley's history *Lone Star Justice: The First Century of the Texas Rangers* shows McRae's observation is not far from the truth. Utley is the author of a number of prominent books about the West, including *The Lance and the Shield*, and in *Lone Star Justice* he highlights the hold the Texas Rangers have maintained on the general American imagination.

They've done even more for Texans' self-image. What is really left these days to distinguish Texas from anywhere else—Houston from Phoenix, Dallas-Ft. Worth from Minneapolis-St. Paul, the Red River from the Platte, the Big Piney Woods from the Black Hills? Mostly, what Texas has to keep itself distinct is a memory of those days when a handful of Rangers policed an area the size of Western Europe, battling Indians, Federales, bandits, gamblers, and John Wesley Hardin. By the time they were done, Texas was a safer and less interesting place.

**Lone Star Justice**
*The First Century of the Texas Rangers*
by Robert M. Utley
Oxford University Press, 370 pp., $30

The Rangers were founded in 1823 as a citizen militia while Texas was still a province of Mexico. Their genesis reflected the demographics of an increasing American presence, and they were charged with the task of protecting the nascent colonial towns of coastal Texas from the depredations of Mexican bandits and the ongoing scourge of the Comanches, hordes of whom periodically swept off the interior prairies. The bloody struggle between the Rangers and the Comanche "Lords of the Plains" would last for fifty years.

After participating in the 1836 war for independence from Mexico, the Rangers were officially sanctioned by the Republic of Texas and its first president, Sam Houston, as the new nation's main defense force. For nine years they were the Republic's standing army while Houston (one of three presidents, later to serve as governor and a U.S. senator) worked to have Texas admitted to the Union, a complicated process because of the national slavery question.

In the Mexican-American War that began in 1846, the Rangers were known for a battlefield valor driven by a deep-seated animosity toward Mexicans ("Remember the Alamo!") and for scouting ability gleaned from years of Indian fighting. General Zachary Taylor used them extensively in field operations culminating in the Battle of Monterrey. The legendary Ranger Ben McCulloch was the general's eyes and ears at Buena Vista, the victory that would shortly catapult Taylor to the White House as the twelfth president.

But Taylor also found—as did General Winfield Scott—that the Texans needed a hard curb to keep them from executing reprisals against both military and civilian Mexicans. These

*A frequent contributor on western topics to* The Weekly Standard, *Bill Croke is a writer in Cody, Wyoming.*



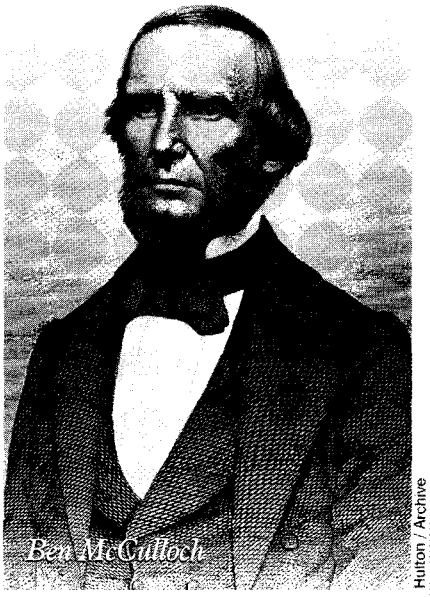
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

atrocities reflected the racism endemic in nineteenth-century Anglo Texas and were a blot on a mostly exemplary century-long Ranger record. Taylor and Scott harbored no illusions about the Ranger companies they commanded—declaring them "unsurpassed both as fighters and troublemakers." To the Mexicans, the Rangers were forever after known as "Los Diablos Tejanos."

The history of the Texas Rangers is dominated by dynamic personalities, and each particular period has its sterling hagiographies, mostly about the storied "captains" who commanded the rough and ready Ranger units. There was John Coffee Hays, a surveyor when he joined the Rangers but a man whose swashbuckling exploits and bravery "bordered closely on rashness." After equipping fourteen men with the new Colt five-shot revolvers, Hays defeated seventy Comanches at the Battle of Walker Creek north of San Antonio in 1844, killing twenty-three, wounding thirty, and revolutionizing mounted combat at close quarters. In fifteen minutes of confused carnage, Hays's troop suffered two lance wounds but no fatalities.

Once Texas joined the United States in 1845 and settlers began to crowd in, the war with the Comanches and their Kiowa allies escalated. The federal government established a string of forts along a four-hundred-mile front in central Texas, stretching from the Red River south to the Rio Grande. The Army, however, proved ineffective in deterring Indian depredations. In Washington, Senator Sam Houston pleaded for federal aid for the Rangers (now a sort of police-force militia) to deal with the threat, but the endless political maneuvering and bureaucratic red tape got Texas nothing. Finally, Governor Hardin Runnels ordered another legendary Ranger, "Rip" Ford, to attack the Comanches in their homeland.

The plan required Ford to cross the Red River and take the conflict beyond the borders of Texas. Traveling surreptitiously, much of the time at night, Ford led two hundred Rangers and Indian auxiliaries across the river. On



Hulton / Archive

May 12, 1858, at the Battle of Antelope Hills in present Oklahoma, he surprised the large village of Chief Iron Jacket, destroying it and killing seventy-six while suffering only two killed and three wounded on his own side. The Rangers took eighteen women and children prisoner for future trade for white captives and stampeded three hundred Comanche horses back to Texas. The U.S. Army in Fort Belknap was so impressed with Ford's expedition as a lesson in tactics, they copied it and conducted similar raids on Rush Springs and Crooked Creek.

Ford was also a central figure in the "Cortina War" of 1859, a bloody affair in which a proto-Pancho Villa and Mexican bandit-patriot named Juan Cortina and four hundred followers attempted to reoccupy territory on the Texas side of the Rio Grande. They flew the Mexican flag as they plundered the countryside. Ford and eighty Rangers engaged them at Rio Grande City on December 27, 1859, and the buckskin-clad commander delivered a blow as ruthless and devastating as the one he had administered to the Comanches the previous year, although Cortina and a few followers escaped into Mexico. The U.S. Army was supposed to rendezvous with Ford, but it arrived late and was useful mostly in preventing Ford from pursuing Cortina below the border.

During the Civil War, Texas saw the reemergence of the Indian menace as the federal forts were evacuated with the state's secession from the Union. Some Ranger companies served with Confederate forces, while others were charged with dealing with the Indians and as Texas's defense against Union incursions (which were almost nonexistent, as Texas was not strategically important and, unlike the Deep South, was rife with Union sympathizers). A bigger problem were the small groups of starving Rebel deserters from other parts of the South who roamed the countryside and committed atrocities. Then in December 1863, an army of three hundred Comanches laid waste to a broad swath of north Texas, leaving towns such as Fort Worth islands of armed defense in a burning sea of savagery. Ford and Henry McCulloch (brother of Ben), sharing command of roughly a thousand Rangers statewide, had their hands full.

Reconstruction Texas was occupied by federal troops commanded by General Philip Sheridan's Department of the Gulf from his headquarters in New Orleans. Texas had escaped the destruction suffered by other Confederate states, but had still seen four years of anarchic lawlessness and Indian trouble. Sheridan's army of 2,200, once again garrisoning fifteen frontier posts, helped to quiet things down.

With the Civil War now over, the military presence was increased on the entire Great Plains as both the Johnson and Grant administrations strove to resolve "the Indian problem." In Texas, the Rangers came to be increasingly seen as a law-enforcement agency and concentrated their efforts as a border patrol in the Rio Grande Valley battling cross-border smuggling and cattle rustling. By 1874 there were five thousand U.S. troops in Texas to deal with the endlessly restive Comanches and Kiowas.

In that same year, the Rangers were officially "institutionalized" by the state legislature as the "Frontier Battalion," an administrative euphemism to go along with their new role as cops with Stetsons and six shooters. The citizenry and the newspapers would have none of it, still calling them "the Texas Rangers." The Frontier Battalion



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

under a new leader, John B. Jones, participated in one last fight with the Indians, the 1874 Red River War, which ended in the decisive Comanche defeat at Palo Duro Canyon in the Panhandle. The hard winter of 1875 saw the last destitute stragglers come in to the Oklahoma reservation and—except for some minor Apache trouble on the New Mexico border in 1880—a half century of Indian war in Texas ceased.

Major Jones was the first modern Ranger. In the succeeding decades of the nineteenth century, the Texas Rangers would tame unruly railroad and cowtowns, arrest or kill such notable outlaws as John Wesley Hardin and Sam Bass, and jump in the middle of the violent range wars that visited Texas with the advent of barbed wire and closing of the open range. In the twentieth century, the Rangers would police "oil patch" boomtowns that were as murderous as any 1870s cowtown, all the while setting the example for a system of state police that would quickly spread across the nation.

This may not have been entirely a good thing. The size and bloody history of Texas demanded a quasi-military police force, and the Rangers were never numerous: "One riot, one Ranger" was their motto, as a single officer was expected to put down any number of troubles. But was it the right model for, say, Massachusetts? Huey Long's personal bodyguard of heavily armed highway patrolmen in Louisiana has its origins in the Texas Rangers, and the power of local communities across the nation to control their state's police declined over the years.

The Rangers were at their best during the years Robert Utley chronicles in *Lone Star Justice*. They were hard but fair men at a time when the hardness was necessary and the fairness a bonus. They may have killed off most of the people that made Texas interesting to begin with, but most of those people were trying to kill them at the time.

Texas isn't what it used to be, and one wonders whether men like Ben McCulloch, John Coffee Hays, and Rip Ford would think that it was worth it, if they could see the modern Houston or Dallas their fights made possible. Maybe. They were charged with making that vast Texas country safe for settlers and townships, and they did their job. But then again, maybe not. For where in the new world they helped make is there room for men like them? ♦

# A Call to Arms

*Reforming the American military.*

**BY MAX BOOT**

Last month the United States Army brought approximately 3,000 troops of the Tenth Mountain Division back from Kosovo and 3,000 troops of the 101st Airborne Division back from Afghanistan.

Both units had been deployed for about six months, and their rotation home was billed as strictly "routine." So it was, but does this routine make any sense? Think about your own job. Would you become really, really good at it in just six months? By the end of that time, you might just be starting to feel comfortable. If you were in the Army in a combat zone, that's precisely when you'd be withdrawn and sent to do something else. If you were in a non-combat assignment you might get two whole years—if you're lucky—to master your job.

**The Path to Victory**
*America's Army and the Revolution in Human Affairs*
by Donald Vandergriff
Presidio, 376 pp., $34.95

Donald Vandergriff is disgusted with this bureaucratic practice, which he knows from years of firsthand experience. An active-duty major who gives every indication of passionately loving the Army, he has sacrificed his career by daring to criticize its faults. He is currently assigned as deputy director of the Army ROTC detachment at Georgetown University—not exactly a surefire route to the top—and under the "up or out" system the Army employs (an officer must be promoted or resign), he will be a civilian before long. As his parting shot, he has written *The Path to Victory*, a provocative book that is not always easy reading but that richly rewards study by anyone interested in our armed forces.

Too many officers today, Vandergriff insists, are "courtiers" not "warfighters." The zero-defects mentality discourages risk-taking and spawns officers who will never rock the boat. It seems unlikely that some great generals of years past—eccentrics like Vinegar Joe Stilwell or George S. Patton—could have survived for long within today's bureaucracy. Indeed there has been an exodus of promising young officers in recent years.

At the root of the Army's problems, Vandergriff believes, is an impersonal system that goes back many decades. In the most interesting sections of this book, he traces the development of the Army's personnel policies to the theories of Frederick Taylor, who believed that workers were interchangeable cogs in the industrial machine. Applying these theories in both world wars, the Army administered a battery of tests to each new soldier to give him an "occupational specialty."

To give an indication of the Army's backward priorities, those with the highest scores were assigned "safe and comfortable jobs in rear areas"; combat was reserved for those who didn't test as well, on the mistaken assumption

*Max Boot, editorial features editor of the* Wall Street Journal, *is the author of* The Savage Wars of Peace: Small Wars and the Rise of American Power.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that it didn't take much brains to lug a rifle or fire a machine gun.

The worst part of this system, Vandergriff argues, was the "individual replacement" structure: Soldiers were separated after basic training and sent off to fill vacancies in existing units. "New soldiers joined units made up of experienced men who had learned how to survive and work together. . . . Often the veterans did not want to know the names of the 'newbies' because they might not be around for long. Replacements either learned quickly how to operate with the unit in combat or they became casualties."

This approach flies in the face of all studies of combat effectiveness, which suggest that units made of men who know each other—men who have stayed together from basic training to the battlefield—are far more effective. When asked why they are willing to risk death, soldiers invariably cite neither patriotism nor promotion, but rather the simple desire not to let their buddies down. Yet the Army personnel system—fully institutionalized after World War II by George C. Marshall—created units of strangers. So much for *esprit de corps*.

The Army's shortcomings finally caught up with it in Vietnam. Jungle fighting and counterinsurgency are specialized skills, but by the time any soldier or officer learned the craft, his tour of duty was over. As John Paul Vann joked, "The United States has not been in Vietnam for nine years, but for one year nine times."

To its credit, the Army has tried to learn the lessons of Vietnam. Today it is not rotating individuals out of Afghanistan or Kosovo; it is rotating entire units. This may be an improvement but it still has major drawbacks: All the local knowledge acquired over the past six months is instantly lost. Whereas it may be true that any trained soldier can come in and drive a tank or fire a rifle, no stateside replacement can possibly be as good at interacting with local warlords or dealing with local customs. These kinds of skills can be gained only through experience that is almost impossible to acquire in today's armed forces.

The military establishment will argue against the alternative system—leaving some units "in country" for extended periods of time—on the grounds that the risks (and rewards) of combat should be shared equally. This egalitarian philosophy underpins the entire personnel system, with perverse consequences.

"An average officer with twenty-five years of service will serve a year and one-half at each duty station, including schools," writes Vandergriff. This nonstop transferring exacts a heavy toll on families. It is also costly, both financially and in lost combat effectiveness. No leader, no matter how effective, can hope to stay with his troops for long—he has to keep "punching his ticket" in desk jobs if he wants to win coveted promotions.

Since Vietnam, the military has managed to avoid paying a high price for its mistakes, but Vandergriff warns that the unpredictable and changing face of battle—what he calls "Fourth-Generation Warfare"—will require a nimbler, more cohesive force. Toward that end, he recommends a host of reforms. He wants a reduction in the size of the bloated officer corps. He suggests a "regimental" structure in which a group of soldiers from one region of the country will stay together for an extended time. And he insists that the "up or out" mantra must be eliminated, thereby allowing competent specialists to remain in their jobs even if they have no hope of ever becoming a general.

Vandergriff's prescriptions complement those of Colonel Douglas MacGregor, another Army maverick, whose 1997 book *Breaking the Phalanx* advocated reforming a divisional structure that has survived essentially unchanged since Napoleon's time. Ralph Peters, a retired Army lieutenant-colonel, likewise assails his old service's complacency with considerable gusto and verve in his brilliantly written new book *Beyond Terror: Strategy in a Changing World*.

It's encouraging to see a few bold officers advocating such heretical notions. It's less encouraging to see how they generally get ignored by the decision-makers in the Pentagon. ♦

# Becoming Americans

*The intersection of immigration and affirmative action.* **BY BETH HENARY**

On June 6 Florida governor Jeb Bush signed into law a sleepy-sounding bill called the Florida Minority Business Loan Mobilization Program. The new law allows certified minority businesses—those that are at least 51 percent owned by Florida residents who are African American, Hispanic American, Asian American, Native American, or non-minority women—to request an advance of up to 10 percent on state-contract payments to facilitate their projects.

**Collision Course**
*The Strange Convergence of Affirmative Action and Immigration Policy in America*
by Hugh Davis Graham
Oxford University Press, 246 pp., $30

Despite the law's shrewdly nondiscriminatory appearance (the loan applicant must win the contract first), Florida's plan for helping minorities shows the color-consciousness of Jeb Bush's One Florida, which was touted as eliminating affirmative action in state hiring, contracts, and college admissions. More, it joins a vast array of government programs for

*Beth Henary is an editorial assistant at* THE WEEKLY STANDARD.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

minorities that lack both narrow tailoring and a cohesive rationale for the groups they include.

One of the most contentious aspects of race-conscious minority set-asides or assistance programs like Florida's is that their beneficiaries are nearly always a laundry list of broad ethnic categories. Take Florida's list of those eligible for minority-business status, which is typical of many local, state, and federal lists. Asian Americans certainly include Japanese Americans, but also Cambodians, Chinese, Vietnamese, and Malaysians. African Americans are descendants of slavery, but recent immigrants from Africa and the Caribbean potentially qualify as well. Non-minority women and Hispanics can be recent immigrants or longtime citizens, desperately poor or exceedingly rich.

In *Collision Course: The Strange Convergence of Affirmative Action and Immigration Policy in America*, the recently deceased historian Hugh Davis Graham teases out the immigration and racial classification aspects of this bizarre ethnic dynamic that makes a mockery of the sole reasonable justification for race-conscious preferences —past discrimination *in America*. Graham elaborates on a trend noted by other scholars of immigration and affirmative action, focusing tightly on the policies, rather than the judicial decisions, that have made minority preferences what they are today.

Graham begins by insisting that the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Immigration and Naturalization Act were well intended. Over time, though, the enforcement of those colorblind laws fell to government officials forced to grapple with real-world race relations and politicians with upcoming reelections. In 1969 President Richard Nixon resurrected the Philadelphia Plan, a defunct Johnson Labor Department attempt to redefine fair employment practices as those that yield proportional representation of minorities. For Johnson the Philadelphia Plan was a response to rioting urban minorities in the 1960s, but for Nixon it served a political purpose. By using the plan to target skilled crafts unions, where

Bettmann / CORBIS

*President Johnson meeting with civil rights leaders in 1964.*

minorities were few and seniority mattered, Nixon fractured the labor-civil rights Democratic coalition. Also toward this end, he established the Office of Minority Business Enterprise in the Commerce Department.

On Nixon's watch the Commerce Department for the first time named groups of minorities—Asians, blacks, Hispanics, and American Indians—that it considered "presumptively eligible" for its small-business assistance program. After Nixon, Jimmy Carter expanded set-asides for minorities, though instances of overt discrimination had been plummeting for several years. Congress joined the preferences movement in 1977, burying in a public works appropriation bill a clause that required a percentage of the bill's $4 billion in contracts go to minority businesses. This time, Eskimos and Aleuts were included in the ethnic mix.

As Graham points out, the philosophical justification for affirmative action—the now familiar terms like "disparate impact" and "institutional racism"—emerged only after the nondiscrimination policies of the Civil Rights Act were working. But if the logic behind affirmative action for African Americans was not immediately obvious, the logic for including other groups was even more obscure.

Back in 1956, government contractors were asked to enumerate their "Negro" employees, as separate from the categories of "other minority" and "total" employees. Graham puts the fallout this way: "Once minority groups started getting named on the government's civil rights compliance forms, the ethnic organizations kicked into play." Organizations like the Mexican-American Political Action Committee and the Japanese-American Citizens League argued that their constituencies too faced discrimination. Against these powerful lobbies and their supportive members of Congress, agencies like Labor's Office of Federal Contract Compliance barely protested, even while, Graham makes clear, they "provided no rationale to justify their racial and ethnic categories." They likewise failed to ponder how the forces of intermarriage and especially immigration would factor in, or how elusive their categories really were.

The unexpected convergence of affirmative action and immigration becomes apparent in one simple statistic: Eighty percent of new immigrants to the United States today are eligible for affirmative-action programs. In some cases citizenship is not even necessary to qualify for race-based assistance. The 1965 Immigration and Naturalization Act, with its curbing of immigration from European nations and emphasis on family reunification visas over skilled worker visas, contributed neatly to this phenomenon. More immigrants every year come from Asia and Mexico, and the law grants their families priority in visa attainment. The color of their skin puts them on par with native workers, many of them poor blacks, in seeking jobs and education. And it is a little-admitted fact that certain employers



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

favor Asian and Hispanic immigrants—typed as industrious and willing to work for low pay—over African Americans.

But what the presumptive-eligibility model employed by federal agencies inadvertently says to recent U.S. immigrants is that they will be discriminated against. Graham believes this message is in opposition to the American promise.

Central to the argument in *Collision Course* are the multiplying reasons why affirmative action no longer makes sense. Interracial marriages complicate citizen categorization, and federal agencies' continued granting of minority eligibility to well-organized lobbies works against the effectiveness of preference programs. Affirmative action never reached down to pick up the black underclass it was designed to help. Being able to receive most affirmative-action remedies or diversity preferences, such as an extra points in college admissions or federal construction contracts, requires some level of skill. The poorest individuals in any ethnic group often are too destitute to compete.

Immigration scholar Peter Skerry has called the collision of 1960s immigration and civil rights reforms a "historical accident." Hugh Davis Graham fleshes out this observation, detailing how as immigration increased the number of protected "minority groups" expanded. His account of this phenomenon is excellent. But until politicians like Richard Nixon—or Jeb Bush, for that matter—no longer perceive racial politicking as politically profitable, they will drive wedges between groups where they can, with the same unintended results from which we suffer today. ♦

# Irish Lies

## *The stories the Emerald Isle tells about itself.* BY MARGARET BOERNER

The American understanding of Irish history has often been simplistic. Ireland has rarely been a consideration in American foreign policy—which means that Americans have been able to ignore Irish history even more than they have ignored the history of other European countries. The sense of a lost Eden is common to all immigrants, and there has been little to oppose Irish immigrants' nostalgia and sentimentality for the "ould sod."

The common American vision of, say, the era of John Ford's *The Quiet Man*, thus arose: So far as we Americans knew, the Irish natives were Roman Catholics who had been starved by British Protestants in the Great Famine. Protestants were cruel interlopers opposed by the brave freedom fighters in the Irish Republican Army, who drove them out of the south during the war for independence and who are struggling to drive them out of the north so that Ireland can be Irish—that is, entirely Roman Catholic. If the Protestants would just go home to Britain across the Irish Sea, Ireland could be whole again. After all, we Americans ourselves had thrown the Brits out in the late eighteenth century.

This American attitude toward the IRA was equally irritating to the British authorities in the north and the Republic of Ireland in the south, who both regarded the IRA as a bunch of thugs, receiving money and support from Irish Americans only because Americans didn't understand that Sinn Fein was a terrorist organization.

American tourists in Ireland are surprised to learn (if they ever do) that most of the Irish who won the Nobel Prizes for literature, fought for independence, and resisted British rule were Protestant. The island is one-fourth Protestant to this day (the greater number living in British Northern Ireland). Those Protestants have been Irish for centuries, as have the small number of Jews in Ireland. There were Irish Catholics who became Protestant—some by conviction, some for preferment—when Henry VIII made himself head of the Church of England and thereby the Church of Ireland. There were Irish who were Protestants sent over from Scotland during the reigns of Elizabeth I and James I who had become members of the Church of Scotland. (The later settlements by New Model Army soldiers under Cromwell were more violent.) All these have been Irish for at least four hundred years (longer than most of us have been Americans), and many have been Irish from the beginning of time—even before St. Patrick converted the Irish from paganism.

Although Gerry Adams may believe that "all over Ireland . . . people can show you the land that was taken from their families three or four hundred years ago and name the families that took it," the story of Ireland is actually a set of "stories" used as defining narratives. In Ireland, history consists of "telling tales and making it up," as Robert Fitzroy Foster subtitles *The Irish Story*, his book on Irish history.

This subtitle is both accusatory and conciliatory—one can "make up" (reconcile as well as create a fiction) by telling the tale. The book comes at a time when recent events have forced us to ponder the subtleties of history, at a time when we can all appreciate how mutually exclusive versions of history shape ethnic confusion and violence. As Foster points out, "Northern Ireland over the last quarter-century of communal conflict has, on both sides, anticipated the interfaces between fundamentalist religion, exclusivist nationalism, resegregation and terrorism so horribly demonstrated in Bosnia." Indeed, one comes to wonder whether aid from ordinary Irish Americans to the terroristic IRA is any dif-

*Margaret Boerner teaches English at Villanova University.*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ferent from support for bomb factories in the Middle East.

R.F. Foster is an Irishman who is a distinguished professor of Irish history at the University of Oxford. Although he was trained at Trinity College Dublin in the late 1960s under the great Theodore Moody, he could not find a job in Ireland (like most educated Irish until the last decade). He immigrated to England and began teaching in the night school at the University of London in 1974. In 1991 he was made a fellow of Hertford College and is now Carroll Professor of Irish History at Oxford. His books have included works on Charles Stewart Parnell, Lord Randolph Churchill, Hubert Butler, William Butler Yeats, and *Punch Magazine*'s view of the Irish. He is currently working on the second volume of his biography of Yeats.

His teacher, Theodore Moody, was a pioneer of the "revision" of simplistic Irish history-making, and Foster has devoted his career to unearthing entombed shards of Irish history. These shards have been purposely and deeply buried, and bringing them to light is often excoriated by all sides in a given Irish conflict. In particular, Foster has analyzed the "blood myth" of the dispossessed Catholic and the political myth of the freedom-loving Protestant. A series of essays rather than a historical chronicle, *The Irish Story* analyzes theme parks in Ireland, Leland Lyons's late-twentieth-century reinterpretation of Irish history, Yeats's work with the Irish war of independence early in the twentieth century (for which Foster has the greatest respect), Anthony Trollope's memories of Ireland reflected in his Irish hero Phineas Finn, Elizabeth Bowen's vision of the shape-shifting Irish landscape in her Irish childhood, Hubert Butler's excavation of Ireland's stories, and the narratives of Frank McCourt (for which Foster has the greatest disdain).

The whole book is written in lively, colorful, and exact prose. The essay on "Theme-parks and Histories" argues, in a scholarly and amusing way, that (as the deadly prose of an Irish Tourist Board document puts it) the "symbols of collective memory" are now organized by the state so as to provide "interpretative gateways into our heritage." And, since "visitors' time is limited," all Irish history should be funneled into a fixed number of "story lines," linked to tourist sites. In 1998, this resulted in the heretofore somber and simple memorialization of the Famine's being transmogrified into a celebration "linked to exploiting

Michael St. Maur Sheil / CORBIS

**The Irish Story**
*Telling Tales and Making It Up in Ireland*
by R.F. Foster
Oxford University Press, 304 pp., $28

tourist sites and attracting interest from the Irish diaspora." Foster writes:

> The Cashel Heritage Society produced a luridly jolly brochure promising "a colourful Pageant of Music, Song, Dance and Drama" to commemorate "the 150th Anniversary of this dark period of our past," with five days a week of fancy-dress events.... A 200-acre Famine Theme Park was opened in west Limerick [so that] "it will be possible ... to experience first hand in this remote area how 1,000 people struggled for survival.... The spectacle of the Famine Museum right beside the [tourist] restaurant ... or the old Wicklow gaol in its new tourist-friendly incarnations, full of resting actors in period costume, suggest that at least one great Irishman, Oscar Wilde, would appreciate the way that reality slavishly imitates art.

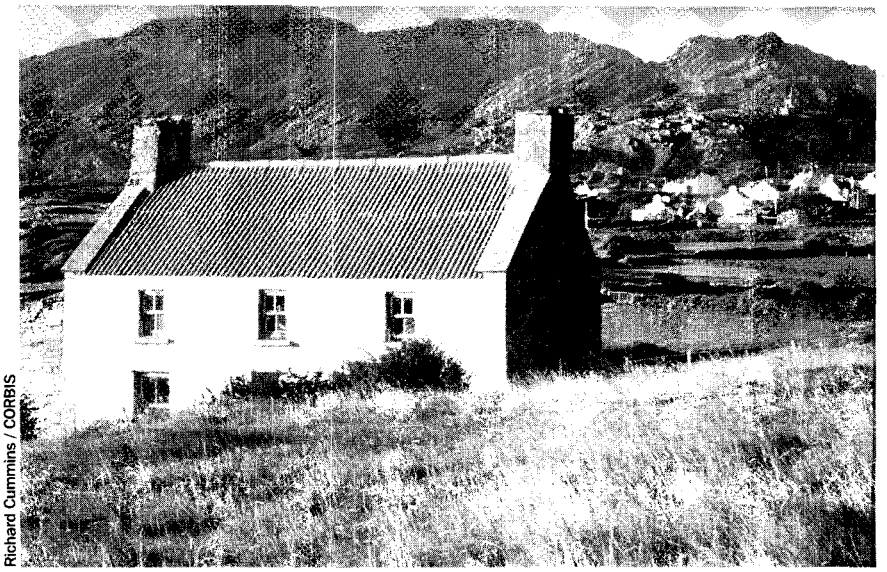
All this activity was "sourly referred to in some quarters as 'Faminism.'" But Foster's basic objection is not primarily that such theme parks (not unknown to the United States, which is perhaps where the Irish government got the idea) are bogus, but that "the ambiguities of Irish history are, in many ways, the most distinctive thing about it," and the theme park simply fails to acknowledge the supreme Irish genius for conflicting narrative.

Those who established the Republic of Ireland early in the twentieth century had a vested interest in making it, however materially deprived, into a morally superior nation. "It was an axiom of the *Catholic Bulletin* that in ancient Gaelic society, the poorest rural families sat around the fire discussing scholastic philosophy." Ireland's first president, Eamonn de Valera, notoriously said his vision for Ireland was that of a nation "bright with cosy homesteads, whose fields and villages would be joyous with the sounds of industry, with the romping of sturdy children, the contests of athletic youths, the laughter of comely maidens; whose firesides would be forums for the wisdom of old age."

Irish history was viewed as an "apostolic succession of national liberators," and those events or those persons who failed to advance this motif were ruthlessly suppressed. Frank O'Connor's stories were a betrayal; James Joyce was a "foul-minded" traitor to his country; W.B. Yeats wrote "evil literature"; Elizabeth Bowen wrote about England; Edna O'Brien wrote about sex. All had spent time abroad, many of them forced abroad by economic necessity or condemnation—which made them not Irish writers. They also came under a new censorship bill written by the government in imitation of England's censorship, but with Catholic confessionalism as its basis. Ireland needed only those writers and historians who would express the "pain of Irish history." As the Irish historian Dr. Brendan Brad-



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Richard Cummins / CORBIS

shaw asserted, "the traditional faith-and-fatherland view of Irish history was salutary and should be sustained, *its wrongness notwithstanding.*" The Gaelic League went so far as to contend that "speaking English was incompatible with faith and patriotism," and the use of the English language sapped "the very fibres of mental and moral nature." Furthermore, "growth in the understanding of English speech . . . means only a more complete obliteration of the historic faith and patriotism of Ireland."

Perhaps this was all the necessary pain of growing a nation; certainly it had popular support. But it was enforced as in a third-world dictatorship, and some time passed before scholars could free themselves from it. One of the first to do so was Leland Lyons, another student of Theodore Moody—all the more interesting, according to Foster, because he had been a historian who peaceably followed the "faith-and-fatherland" view. But his great book, *Culture and Anarchy in Ireland* (1979), written while he was holding a chair at the University of Kent in England, opened up Ireland to a new kind of analysis. Lyons came to the conclusion that in Ireland there were "several distinct cultures" which sometimes overlapped but were more often "sealed into separate, self-justifying compartments."

Foster is awed by Lyon's "subtle, reflective, and interrogative" intelligence and "refusal to go for easy answers." But he is not so sure the idea of colliding cultures applies to present Irish history. At least, he trusts it does not. Indeed, he trusts that the present outcome of the peace process with Northern Ireland indicates "history is not about manifest destinies, but about unexpected and unforeseen futures." He reads Lyons hopefully as teaching the lesson that "Irish identity should not be interpreted as an immutable graven image, but as a protean and fabulous beast."

Foster's four central chapters on Yeats—"Yeats at War," "Yeats, Obituarists, and Irishness," "The Normal and the National," and "Yeats, Carleton, and the Irish Nineteenth Century"—illustrate the "protean and fabulous beast" of Irish identity in the person of W.B. Yeats, declassé member of the Protestant ascendancy, disgusted observer of the horrors of war, defender of the war of independence, Nobel Prize winner, and very much an Irish public man.

But to the great credit of the nation, in the last decade, Irish writing has finally been allowed to be what Yeats always declared it should be: "less preoccupied by imposing its own borders and readier to cross borders into world culture." Nowadays, indeed, the Irish have made positively everyone they possibly can into an Irish writer: Goldsmith, Swift, Sheridan, Trollope, Wilde, Beckett, Bowen, O'Brien—all those earlier pariahs. Even the term "Anglo-Irish," long used to distinguish Protestant Irish writers from the "real" Irish writers, is now used to mean simply and inclusively "Irish writers writing in English."

At the end of his book, after an appreciation of Trollope and Bowen, and devastating criticisms of *Angela's Ashes* ("there is some danger that America is ready to believe in Ireland, past and present, as interpreted through the memories of the McCourt family") and Gerry Adams's *Before the Dawn* ("his visceral dislike of the actual Republic of Ireland, which is so mysteriously unlike the virtual-reality green-and-Gaelic model he has been educated to believe it should be"), Foster finishes with an appreciation of the long-lived historian Hubert Butler's internationalism and a final chapter on the changing interpretation of Ireland's first war of liberation, the 1798 Rising, inspired by the American and French Revolutions.

The eighteenth-century Irish—particularly middle-class, often Protestant Irish—felt as had middle-class Americans two decades earlier: They were free-born citizens who were being treated by the mother country like conquered aliens. Indeed, the accusation of taxation without representation was an Irish as well as an American charge. But there is an especially important question as to whether the 1798 Rising was retrograde and sectarian (a group of Protestants was burned alive in a barn in Wexford) or enlightened and pluralistic (the founding of the United Irish League brought together middle-class men of all religions). This question has not been answered. Far more so than the American Revolution, the Rising has defied impartial investigation; instead it has been "fictionalized and poeticized . . . romanticized and sanitized." These questions have recently been answered by governmental fiat: In 1997, a "Mission Statement on 1798" from the office of the minister of state declared the Rising was a "forward-looking, popular movement aspiring to unity."

As Foster has ruefully reflected, his nation is "too prone to mistake verbiage for eloquence, fanaticism for piety, and swagger for patriotism." These are faults not particular to the Irish, although the Irish might be said to be especially spectacular in their use. But the Irish didn't win all those Nobel Prizes for literature without knowing how to make it up and tell the tale. ♦



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Death Imitates Art

The news stories read like the opening of a mystery novel. In the early morning of July 4, in Morristown, New Jersey, a man named Mark McGarrity was found dead on the hard ground outside his apartment. An accident, the police insisted. The fifty-eight-year-old man—an occasional writer on outdoor topics for the Newark *Star-Ledger*—had apparently forgotten his keys and, trying to climb in the window, fallen to his death.

If this were a mystery novel, someone—maybe a homicide detective like Dublin's Peter McGarr, with an infallible nose for something wrong—would have grown uneasy. Why the Fourth of July? Why the missing keys? And how could an avid outdoorsman fall on such a simple climb?

Unfortunately, it's not fiction, but real life, and Peter McGarr will never investigate the mystery, for the fallen Mark McGarrity was, under the pen-name Bartholomew Gill, the American author of the popular mystery series about an Irish policeman. Beginning with *McGarr and the Politician's Wife* in 1976 and ending with the soon-to-be-published *Death in Dublin*, Gill poured out sixteen volumes of Irish-themed detective fiction. The settings ranged from the Irish Republican Army, to Irish immigrants in America, to tinkers wandering the countryside. The best-known, the Edgar-nominated *Death of a Joyce Scholar*, is set on Bloomsday, June 16, and plays—wittily and successfully—on James Joyce's *Ulysses*.

Some of the stories indulged a dated kind of Emerald Isle-*Quiet Man* Irishness, while others veered toward the more recent Roddy Doyle-style of dirty realism that pretends Ireland is just like anywhere else in the modern world, only more so. But at his best, Bartholomew Gill wrote clever, well-plotted, and literate mysteries. He would have loved the chance to write about the mystery of his own death.

*—J. Bottum*

## Books in Brief

***How to Lose Friends and Alienate People* by Toby Young (Da Capo, 368 pp., $24).** Toby Young left London for New York seeking wealth, fame, and love. He thought that Eros was his driving force, but he ended up dancing with Thanatos, and what starts as a version of *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington* ends up looking more like *Leaving Las Vegas*. *How to Lose Friends and Alienate People* is Toby Young's tale of the offer of a lifetime, squandered by self-immolation.

In 1995, the *Modern Review*, the London magazine Toby had been editing for four years, went belly up. Graydon Carter, the editor of *Vanity Fair*, took notice and extended an invitation to this young Englishman to come and work for him. *Vanity Fair*! This was it! A-list parties, celebrities, and the chance to be somebody! But Toby always wanted more—from his initial flight from Heathrow to New York, on which he unsuccessfully begged for an upgrade, to his constant battles with the "clipboard nazi" gatekeepers to any party worth getting into. More celebrity, more fame, more women. His experience at the ticket counter foreshadowed the rest of his journey.

Toby Young is an excellent writer—which means the scenes he paints in *How to Lose Friends and Alienate People* are entertaining, and his ubiquitous self-deprecation is charming. Even his political commentary can be fascinating. His take on the political correctness epidemic that beset Harvard while he was there in 1987 is poignant and telling: Tocqueville and Jefferson help him make sense of it all—although he insists that Jefferson's natural aristocracy is best exemplified by James Stewart in the movie *Philadelphia Story* and Cary Grant in *His Girl Friday*.

Still, gossip-dependent media types will mostly revel in the book's tales of the Condé Nasties, the ridiculous pomposity of all *Vanity Fair* employees, and the up-close look at Graydon Carter. Everyone else will enjoy the story, which tells of Young's slide down the slope from great aspirations—fueled by alcohol and cocaine. The story ends the way all such fairy tales must: He decides at last to return home, and he gets at last the girl. The social and political commentary make Young's book worth reading. The biography makes it rich.

*—David Bass*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

**Last week, prosecutors had said they were reluctant to charge Philadelphia 76ers guard Allen Iverson with forcing his way, armed, into an apartment, and threatening two men. Iverson claimed the men knew the whereabouts of his wife, whom he'd just thrown out of his apartment during a fight. The local district attorney insisted the 27-year-old Iverson "would receive no special treatment."**

***—News Item***



# Totally Innocent! Just let him play next year!

**IVERSON** from A1

curat lex," district attorney spokesman Joe "Dr. J." McGillicuddy continued, explaining that the thermonuclear device Mr. Iverson was carrying at the time of the alleged incident was only a "tactical" nuclear weapon, scarcely as large as the one used to incinerate Hiroshima. "He's a gamer," Mr. McGillicuddy explained. "If you've seen him handle the give 'n go with, like, two seconds left on the shot clock, like in Game 3 against the Celts . . . well I've got to believe he's got the manual dexterity to handle anything our arms industry can dish out. With grace. And poise. And consummate professionalism."

As for the entire proceeds of the Save the Children fund, which were allegedly found on Mr. Iverson's person, McGillicuddy, a Sixers season-ticket holder, noted that the lion's share of a prosecutor's job was to keep such things in perspective. "Nobody likes taking money from starving children," Mr. McGillicuddy said. "It's a tragedy. At the same time, Allen's family has its needs, too. It's a judgment call. And the Answer is a man whose judgment has been the firm foundation of Sixers success when the game is on the line."

"Who am I to quarrel with what God gave him?" said an outraged McGillicuddy when one reporter questioned him about a "bulge" that Charles Jones claimed to have seen in Iverson's waistband. "Ever since people blew this O.J. Simpson thing all out

See **IVERSON** on A18

the weekly Standard
July 22, 2002

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Where's Our Sense of Urgency?

**John E. Chubb is chief education officer, Edison Schools; distinguished visiting fellow, Hoover Institution; and member, Hoover's Koret Task Force on K–12 Education.**

Beginning in the 2005–6 school year, states will be required to test all students in grades 3–8 in reading and mathematics and to make "adequate yearly progress" to get all students to a proficient level of achievement within twelve years. These are the most important provisions of the "No Child Left Behind" Act, passed by Congress earlier this year, a compromise with President Bush's original plan.

This significant act places the federal government squarely behind testing and accountability on a nationwide basis. Most states will have to beef up their testing systems substantially to track student progress from grade 3 through grade 8.

**This important act, however, is jeopardized by its timetable for achieving results.** Congress and the president took a full year to agree that the country could wait fifteen years for all students to achieve minimum proficiency. This timetable implicitly acknowledges that many of America's school systems have no hope of improving in any reasonable timeframe.

The most telling statistics are those on America's fifty largest public school systems. These systems range from New York City, with more than one million students, to systems such as Denver, Colorado, with just over 70,000 students. In between are large countywide systems such as Prince George's County, Maryland. Nearly a third of America's young people attend schools in these systems.

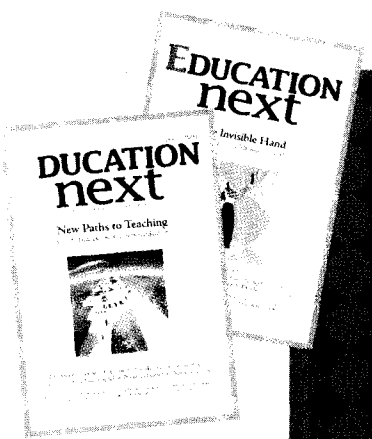
Over the last three years, the average rate of improvement of these systems on tests measuring whether students reach a proficient level of achievement (criterion-referenced) has been only 2.4 percent a year. At that rate, and with the current level of proficiency at less than 50 percent, it will be twenty-five years until those systems reach 100 percent! Large districts with high poverty levels will need thirty years to hit the federal target. Finally, eleven large systems have rates of improvement of less than 1 percent—putting 100 percent proficiency a half century in the future.

The same pattern holds for systems using tests that measure students in percentiles against a national sample of students (norm-referenced) where the average rate of gain in the fifty largest systems is 1.3 percentiles per year. If we define the fiftieth percentile as a measure of proficiency and assume that a district will achieve full proficiency when its average reaches the seventy-fifth percentile, the largest districts would require another twenty-five years to achieve the federal target—and high-poverty districts would take thirty-five years.

The progress of America's largest school systems makes a federal goal of fifteen years look ambitious. But where is the nation's sense of urgency? **Twenty-five to fifty years waiting for no child to be left behind means several lost generations.** Progress need not be this slow. Every year hundreds of schools show that students can achieve proficiency in a short time. At Edison Schools, whose 75,000 students make it the forty-second-largest system, the average test score gains have been 5.7 and 4.7 points per year on criterion-and norm-referenced tests, respectively. The nation ought to demand that all school systems make this kind of progress.

*— John E. Chubb*

Paid for by the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.




Interested in cutting-edge ideas about K-12 education?
**Subscribe to *Education Next: A Journal of Opinion and Research.***
**Visit us on-line at www.educationnext.org or contact us to receive a complimentary copy.**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

©2002, Fannie Mae. All rights reserved. The house logo is a registered mark of Fannie Mae.

# No other company has done more to increase homeownership in America.

At Fannie Mae, our mission is simple: to lower the cost of homeownership so that more American families can get into homes of their own. And over the past three decades, we have dedicated ourselves to seeing that homeownership in America continues to grow at a steady rate.

Every day we work with our mortgage lender partners and other housing leaders to fulfill our goals. To knock down the barriers to homeownership, lower costs, and increase opportunities for low- and moderate-income families.

We believe that when more Americans have a place to call home, it strengthens families, communities, and our nation as a whole.

At Fannie Mae, it's more than just our mission, it's who we are.

FannieMae
www.fanniemae.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED